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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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18 January 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### WARSAW PACT INFLUENCE IN AFRICA DISCUSSED

Bonn DIE WELT in German 4 Nov 83 p 12

[Article by Juergen Liminski, Bonn: "Sixty-nine Thousand Soviets and Cubans in Africa; WELT Conversation with Egypt's Minister of Defense"]

[Text] Egyptian Defense Minister Mohammed Abu Ghasala does not rule out the possibility of Egypt participating in a military intervention in the Persian Gulf, should this become necessary in the interest of the Western world. In a conversation with WELT, he mentioned three conditions for this [eventuality]:

- "1. Real danger must exist, for example a blockade of the Straits of Hormuz.
2. Cairo must be called in for help by the threatened adjacent countries, and with a specific mandate.
3. Action by Egyptian armed forces in the Gulf must only take place jointly and in coordination with the units of the Western powers."

The minister defined the community of interests of Egypt and the West in the Gulf in the following manner: "We need Western technology and credit assistance for our national reconstruction. The West needs an unobstructed energy supply, i.e., oil from the Gulf. Without oil for the West, there is no aid for us from the West. For this reason, we are just as interested in stability in the Gulf and in Saudi Arabia as are the United States, Europe and Japan."

Ghasala is visiting the Federal Republic at present. It is the first visit by an Egyptian defense minister in the FRG. He is considered Washington's man in Cairo and a close intimate of Mubarak. When the fatal shots were fired at Sadat, Mubarak stood to the right, Ghasala to the left of the president. He is trying to intensify strategic-military cooperation with the West. However, his visit to the FRG is not intended for the purchase of modern weapons systems. This had not been "a subject" of his talks with his colleague Woerner.

Cairo's former military attaché in Washington sees the main danger for the Near East, and particularly for Africa, in the "enormous Soviet-Cuban

infiltration in Africa." According to his data, 69,000 Soviets and Cubans are on this continent. Their main contingents are 6,000 Soviets and 8,000 Cubans in Ethiopia, 5,000 Russians and 20,000 Cubans in Angola, 3,000 Soviets and 6,000 Cubans in Libya. Ghasala: "This is Moscow's rapid intervention group--only, they are intervening already." Egypt feels threatened by it. For this reason, it has stationed more than half of its armed forces along the Libyan border. Egypt is the "key country for stability in this region."

On Israeli concerns in connection with the new build-up of the Egyptian army, the minister has this to say: "Peace for the Near East is a vital strategic goal for us." Egypt is not building up a new and larger army, but is only replacing its weapons systems. Compared to other countries, Egypt has been reducing arms during the past 8 years. Israel, also, is buying new weapons. Cairo is not worried about this. But "everyone has the right to worry."

Ghasala says that Egypt "buys weapons only from the West." Only some smaller boats were delivered from China. The Romanian tank deal was a "multilateral trade with Iraq." The minister considers grossly exaggerated all speculations which attribute to this deal an importance equal to the so-called Czechoslovakian weapons deal in 1955. Cairo had lent 200 tanks to Baghdad, which Iraq could not give back. Therefore, Iraq bought 200 tanks of a similar type from Romania, of which Cairo has received only 60 to date. Cairo is concerned with keeping Iraq from collapse, and with an end to the war in the Gulf. Iran is trying to overrun Iraq there. According to Ghasala, Teheran is the "warmongering power." It must be stopped.

The defense minister deals harshly with Syria. True, one is not in a state of hostility with Damascus. However, Syria is pursuing a policy which is "diametrically opposed" to Egyptian policy. "What on earth are the Syrians looking for in Lebanon?", asks Ghasala. Syria, and Israel, should withdraw their troops from Lebanon. If there were no more foreign troops in this Near Eastern country, a solution would be found very quickly.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

INTERNATIONAL MEETING ON BALKAN COOPERATION HELD IN BUCHAREST

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE in Romanian Nov-Dec 83  
pp 507-523

[Speeches given at the international meeting "Multilateral Balkan Cooperation and Its Prospects" by Aurel Duma, G. Stefanov, E. Spyridakis, E. Stojic-Imamovic, V. Lipatti, C. Ene, and A. Karaosmanoglu]

[Text] Opening Address, by Aurel Duma, minister and secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Ladies and Gentlemen, Esteemed Friends,

I am extremely glad to extend to you, on behalf of the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a cordial welcome to our country, together with the wish that your meeting will be a favorable forum for an extensive and fruitful exchange of opinions about multilateral Balkan cooperation and its prospects.

The organization in of this meeting in Bucharest, under the auspices of the Association for International Law and International Relations (ADIRI), gathering together eminent specialists from the Balkan countries, reflects an interest and concern for intensifying contacts, consultations, and exchanges of views, in order to find ways and means for developing collaboration and understanding in the Balkans.

Greater efforts for achieving a climate of peace and good neighborliness in our zone, are particularly important at present, when the international situation is fraught with serious tensions and conflicts, with an intensified insane arms race--especially nuclear arms, and with a deepening economic crisis. Under these conditions, there exists a natural and legitimate concern on the part of nations throughout the world, including the Balkan zone, to act firmly and perseverently to stop the dangerous course of events, and to restore a policy of detente, mutual trust, and international collaboration.

In achieving this vital desire of mankind, Romania is developing its relations with all socialist nations, with neutral and non-aligned developing nations, and with developed capitalist countries, based on respect for the principles

of equality of rights, on national independence and sovereignty, on non-interference in domestic affairs, on not having recourse to force and threats of force, and on mutually advantageous cooperation. Our country, and its president Nicolae Ceausescu, carry out a vast activity to implement a policy of international peace and cooperation, to achieve disarmament and establish a new international economic order, create European security, and peacefully settle international disputes, for the independence, progress, and wellbeing of all nations in the world.

These are the lines of Romania's foreign policy along which lie our country's efforts to transform the Balkans into a zone of peace, good neighborliness, trust, and collaboration, free of nuclear weapons, military bases, and foreign troops.

In Romania's concept, bilateral relations and multilateral cooperation among nations in the zone are not mutually exclusive, but on the contrary, are complementary and mutually reinforcing. That is why we devote due importance both to the development of bilateral relations, and to the diversification of forms of multilateral collaboration.

It is appropriate to recall here, at your meeting devoted to multilateral Balkan cooperation, that over the years, these forms of collaboration among the Balkan countries have included fields of broad interest, such as medical science, mathematics, history, geology, architecture, culture and the arts, tourism, and sports. In recent years we have also witnessed the development of economic and technical-scientific collaboration at the governmental level. In this respect, following the Athens Reunion of 1976, reunions of Balkan countries were organized for collaborations in the fields of communications and telecommunications, transportation, energy, and energy raw materials. The positive results obtained so far create a fertile, stimulating environment for continued efforts at expanding present activities, for identifying new possibilities for multilateral collaboration, and for the development of this collaboration to superior levels.

Contributing to the fulfillment of multilateral cooperation in the Balkans, Romania considers that this cooperation is not directed against the interests of any one state or group of nations, that it does not seek to create groups within the zone, nor to isolate the Balkan countries from other nations. On the contrary, we believe that such a cooperation is in the interests of the Balkan countries and people, and that it is an integral part of the process for creating security and developing cooperation in Europe, started at the Helsinki Conference.

As for the denuclearization of the Balkans, Romania has not ceased to act for more than one-quarter of a century, to transform it into a zone free of nuclear weapons, military bases, and foreign troops. The initiatives of our country, as well as those of the leaders of other Balkan countries, are directed toward the same goal of peace, good neighborliness, security, and prosperity for our people.

Starting with this imperative, the president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, has formulated the proposal to organize as soon as possible on the basis of sound preparations, a high level meeting of the Balkan states. In Romania's concept, this meeting of chiefs of state and government would examine ways and means for taking new steps aimed at solving existing problems, developing trust, good neighborliness, and cooperation in many areas, and for transforming the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapons. A meeting such as this would become an important positive action for the entire continent, in the struggle for disarmament and peace in Europe and the world.

It is my conviction that your meeting will achieve a useful exchange of opinions capable of generating ideas and initiatives that will lead to a deeper collaboration among Balkan nations, better acquaintance and understanding among our people, and the establishment of a lasting climate of peace and friendship in the Balkans.

Let us do everything in our power so that the Balkan region, once the "powder keg" of Europe, will become a model of collaboration among nations with different social systems.

With these thoughts in mind, I once more wish complete success to the efforts of your meeting.

Theoretical and Practical Considerations on Collaboration in the Balkans, by  
Gheorghe Stefanov, Institute for International Relations and Socialist  
Integration, Sofia

In general, the question of bilateral and multilateral collaboration is considered as a matter of form. For this reason, the problem of the most appropriate form--bilateral or multilateral--for achieving collaboration in the international sphere, is subordinated to the character of this collaboration, to its aims, limits, and possibilities, and to the qualitative characteristics of the stage of relations among the nations participating in the collaboration.

Historically, these two forms occurred concurrently and coexisted in parallel throughout the history of international relations. They do not counteract each other, but rather are mutually complementary. In general, experience has shown that from the standpoint of the possibilities offered by the two forms of collaboration, the difference between them is always one of principle. Nearly all regional problems that are solved multilaterally can also be solved through a system of interdependent bilateral agreements and through bilateral cooperation associations.

At the same time, in the last decades and especially during the 1970's, we have increasingly observed both in theory and in practice, the greater role, importance, and dissemination of the multilateral form of international cooperation, particularly in economics, science, technology, culture, and so on. The causes for this phenomenon are very diverse. The deterioration of

international relations, the greater complexity of the world's problems, greater interdependence among some countries in the modern world--are all important aspects of the situation. The technical-scientific revolution, together with other factors, are facing mankind with a number of problems in ecology, energy, food supply, raw materials, and so on. The efforts of many countries must be combined to solve these problems. An undeniable expression of the growing importance of the multilateral form of collaboration, is the extremely rapid increase in the number of governmental and non-governmental international organizations.

The belief that the question of bilateral or multilateral cooperation is a matter of form does not characterize it as non-essential or perfunctory. On the contrary, selection of the form of cooperation is an essential political problem, since each form can exercise an enormous active influence, positive or negative, on the substance and efficiency of the cooperation conducted on its basis. That is why countries solve this problem freely, for each separate concrete case. There are no legal or other standards that regulate the selection of one form or another. The selection is a matter of political and practical opportunity, that is resolved with the mutual agreement of all the interested countries. Countries start with different criteria when they opt for a bilateral or multilateral form of cooperation. But in all cases, this selection is more or less associated with the particular features of each of the forms. For instance, the efficiency of bilateral collaboration can be exceptional in some cases, insofar as it presupposes agreement between the interests and wishes of only two countries, with approval and concrete results being obtained more rapidly. Also for this reason, bilateral collaboration can be more readily adapted to the diverse requirements and interests of the countries, especially when some of them participate in diverse international political and economic groups. The results of bilateral relations are more easily controlled, and the activities for their achievement are more easily directed. From this standpoint, as a rule, bilateral collaboration does not require the creation of complicated institutional structures. The matching of interests and organization of collaboration between two countries does not need a very extensive regulatory system, as is the case for collaboration among several participants. At the same time, the bilateral form can lose some specific features when it becomes a matter of solving problems that are far outside the spheres of two countries. In this case, the form of multilateral collaboration does show some merit: it proves to be more appropriate for solving complex problems, and contributes to a positive change in the general political climate. And when this form satisfies the principle of independence, equality, and sovereignty for the partners, it fosters the creation of mutual trust. But we must not forget that the achievement of efficient and mutually advantageous multilateral collaboration is slow, and that a longer time is usually necessary for good results. Because in the multilateral form the number of countries participating in a collaboration is greater, the sectors in which their interests coincide is generally more limited. Its mechanisms are usually more complicated and its management more difficult. For this reason, this form of collaboration most often requires more extensive legal regulations. Each relatively significant step or modification of the situation can impose complicated and difficult agreements.

As a result of these and other circumstances, the mechanisms as well as the efficiency of the collaboration depend in great measure on relations among the participating nations and the nations of the world. This means that in all cases, the possibilities of multilateral collaboration must be assessed in practical terms. They must not be overestimated, and this form of collaboration must be regarded as a complement of the bilateral form in areas in which the solution to problems exceeds the framework of bilateral agreements.

In the light of the above, we can draw a number of conclusions. It is impossible to assert the preponderance of one or the other of the two forms of international collaboration as indicator of the level of relations and collaboration among states on a world or regional scale. In principle, multilateral collaboration presupposes a higher level of development of bilateral agreements, and of no lesser importance, each new stage of multilateral collaboration objectively requires a more developed level of bilateral relations.

Socialist Bulgaria, its government and its people, devote particular importance to the development of collaboration among the Balkan countries. The 12th Congress of the BCP, which has examined and approved the major directions and objectives of our foreign policy, has once again pointed out that "Bulgaria, as a Balkan state, naturally devotes particular importance to the situation in the Balkans and to the development of relations with neighboring nations." It also emphasizes that the international situation has become significantly more complicated due to the policy of the United States and NATO, whose purpose is to destroy the military-strategic equilibrium established in recent years, resorting to an irrational increase in the rate of weapons buildup. The international tension is growing, and the danger of an annihilating thermonuclear conflict is increasingly terrorizing the entire world. At the same time, even in this dangerous international situation, the atmosphere in our Balkan region remains relatively calm. Joint efforts have achieved a number of positive changes, and assured progress in the relations among Balkan nations. Today, more than ever, we must make an effort to continue to improve the climate of understanding and mutual trust in our region, so as to prevent all unfavorable influences that the general world situation could have on the Balkans. At the same time, today more than ever, we must be realistic and carefully think about selecting the most efficient forms for a continued development of mutually advantageous collaboration among the Balkan nations.

The general study of international relations in the Balkans, and especially of those of the past 10-15 years, shows that the Balkan nations use the two forms of collaboration, both along intergovernmental and non-governmental lines, and that Bulgaria actively participates in this collaboration. We must mention at the same time that despite these significant results, all the needs and possibilities are far from having been exhausted. Great possibilities exist for expanding and deepening bilateral collaboration in economy, tourism, science, culture, education, and sports. Much remains to be done in transportation and means of communication. The development of bilateral



collaboration, naturally and legitimately also expands the possibilities for discovering new forms of multilateral collaboration. As we know, our country has often stressed that it is ready to continue multilateral collaboration with the other Balkan nations on problems of common interest in the concrete areas in which an agreement has already been reached. One example of this form of collaboration can be achieved by the Balkan nations through joint efforts to create a denuclearized zone in the Balkans. In his speech, "An Address About Bulgaria," on the occasion of the 1300th anniversary of the formation of the Bulgarian state, Todor Jivkov, chairman of Bulgaria's Council of State and secretary general of the Central Committee of the BCP, once again brought this idea to light. Its implementation can bring together the multilateral efforts of all the Balkan nations because it corresponds to the fundamental interests of their people. It is well known that the Soviet government has more than once expressed its favorable opinion about the creation of denuclearized zones in northern Europe, central Europe, and the Balkans. This idea was supported by all the countries participating in the Treaty of Warsaw. In addition, the Soviet government has declared that it is ready to grant appropriate guarantees to the Balkan countries.

The implementation of this idea acquires even greater importance since it fully corresponds to the real situation existing in the Balkans, and represents a contribution to the struggle to limit the general danger of the outbreak of a thermonuclear war.

It also known that Todor Jivkov has also proposed the organization of a meeting of the leaders of the Balkan nations to examine this problem.

Participating in uncounted forms of bilateral and multilateral collaboration in the Balkans, our country is directing its attention toward bilateral forms. The studies and research of our specialists show that under the present conditions these forms correspond very well to the actual needs of the Balkan nations, and that their development assures great progress with minimal risks of failure. Other researchers of industrial relations in neighboring Balkan countries also agree with this approach.

In general, this matter will also take into consideration the specific nature of the Balkan zone:

The region has countries with different social systems;

These countries have different political and economic orientations;

They have stable, developing relations among themselves and with the rest of Europe;

A number of problems and distinctions of a bilateral nature exists between some of them.

All of the above once more point out the need to remain realistic and obtain accurate assessments, especially since there exist forces which regard the Balkans as an arena for imperialist actions, attempting to stir the Balkan nations against each other, drawing them into a political game that is dangerous to the cause of peace, security, and collaboration.

In considering one form of collaboration or another, it becomes equally dangerous to underestimate these forms, as does any other unjustified exaggeration. In the last instance, each international form of collaboration is valuable and useful to the extent to which it has a real content. Public opinion in our country, and our people, are deeply convinced of the need to expand the sphere of the general parallel interests and of the coincident interests of the Balkan nations. They are aware of the existing difficulties and differences, but they consider that these must be approached from a position of mutual respect, by finding measures to eliminate these difficulties and differences through negotiations and mutual concessions. And in the absence of conditions for solving problems, the latter must not be brought into the limelight; rather, it is desirable to seek the common and positive traits of mutual relations, while developing a systematic and calm activity for creating the conditions necessary to regulate these delicate problems. As always, and today more than ever, the development of collaboration among the Balkan nations has been and is one of the principal directions of the efforts directed toward strengthening peace, trust, and security in the Balkan zone.

Development of Balkan Cooperation and Its Impact on Detente, by Emmanuel S. Spyridakis, ambassador in MAE (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) (Greece)

One of the few successful applications in the spirit of the Final Act of Helsinki, has been implemented for several years in the Balkans, where the political discernment of the leaders in this zone has initiated a cooperation in practical application fields despite their different political, economic, and social systems.

The idea of inter-Balkan multilateral cooperation in the technical-scientific and cultural fields was examined by the current president of Greece, Constantin Caramanlis, who at the time was prime-minister, during his visits to a number of Balkan countries immediately following the reestablishment of the democratic regime in Greece.

The representatives of five Balkan countries participated in the meeting held in Athens between 26 January and 5 February 1976. Albania did not take part in the meeting, who was absent by reason of principles.

Presented at this meeting were 155 proposals, which depending on the adopted findings, will be studied and discussed by the interested parties in a subsequent meeting whose location will be determined by mutual agreement. Following some difficulties and hesitations, the second meeting of general directors of ministries concerned with transportation, communications, telecommunications, energy, the environment, and veterinary protection, was held on 26-29 November 1979 in Ankara. This meeting was generally characterized as satisfactory, even though it did not achieve exceptional results.

A new proposal regarding a third meeting was made during visits of the president of Greece to Balkan countries, in close cooperation with the president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu. Consequently, as a result of the consistent efforts of Romania's president and of the discussions he held with the chairman of the Council of State of Bulgaria, Todor Jivkov, the third meeting of experts was organized in Sofia on 15-19 June 1981. Albania was again absent. This meeting also successfully showed cooperation to be an important real feature of international relations, a fact recognized by all the countries in the region. Also to be mentioned is the meeting of inter-Balkan experts on energy and raw materials problems, held in Bucharest on 7-12 June 1982. This meeting heard interesting proposals for intensifying collaboration among the Balkan nations, and the method for solving energy and raw materials problems through joint efforts.

One of the last manifestations of the spirit of friendship and harmonious cooperation among the Balkan nations recently occurred during the 15th Meeting on Tourism Problems, held in Athens, which adopted important decisions for developing cooperation in tourism among five countries.

An inter-Balkan cooperation would be impossible to achieve in a multilateral framework, if it was not based on a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding at a bilateral level, consistently manifested in the past and at present, both by the leaders of Greece and those of other Balkan countries. Through frequent exchanges of visits in recent years, these political leaders have created the psychological and political climate necessary to strengthen inter-Balkan cooperation and good neighborliness.

The frequent exchanges of views among the governments of the Balkan states, as well as meetings between prime-ministers and other dignitaries, either in the capitals of the respective countries or at international forums, have also contributed to shape a consciousness about the interests of the people of the Balkan nations, which in the process of their economic development can benefit from an expanded cooperation. In fact, results in the cultural domain are particularly encouraging if we consider the large number of artists, orchestras, exhibits, lecturers, and so on, that mutually visit various Balkan countries.

Such exchanges are the keystone for building friendship and mutual understanding among the Balkan people.

The development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation among the Balkan nations in all fields, also creates a large community of interests, which allows them to act independently in promoting a regional cooperation that will contribute to the stability of the zone and to the transformation of the Balkans into a region of trust, cooperation, security, and peace.

Beyond these, I am convinced that in a world full of contradictions and conflicts of interests, the united efforts of small countries in areas of vital interest work not only to their own benefit, but also allow them to proudly state that they act to apply the Helsinki principles on a regional scale, thus setting an example for other nations as well.

I want to add that in many of the high level discussions in which I participated during the past two years as part of exchanges of visits between political leaders from western countries on one hand, and their Greek partners on the other, I have always noted with satisfaction their interest in inter-Balkan cooperation and its results. This attitude can be attributed to the fact that the foreign statesmen, knowing from history the fragility of the peace before the war in the uncertain zone of the Balkan Peninsula, which because of its strategic and geopolitical position was the theater of so many conflicts during this century, are interested today in knowing that this era has ended. Moreover, I firmly believe that through their example, the Balkan states can offer a sign of hope for continued detente in Europe, and for understanding how important it is to make efforts to consolidate this process.

The dynamics of detente are already advanced, and all the interested parties agree that it is the only means for assuring peaceful coexistence and cooperation among nations.

A failure of the detente process will undoubtedly lead to a world confrontation whose result would be the elimination of mankind by man himself.

Multilateral Cooperation in the Balkans, by Dr Edita Stojic-Imamovic,  
Institute of International Politics and Economy, Belgrade

As researcher on problems of security, peace, and cooperation in the Balkans, I support all efforts directed toward the transformation of the Balkan region into a zone of peace and cooperation.

The idea of transforming the Balkans into a zone of peace and cooperation has multiple values independently of the aspects or the attitudes implied by the achievement of the final goal. Currently, a forward step in this direction is the proposal that the Balkans become a zone free of nuclear weapons. The following features of this proposal can be noted: 1) a real importance to the people in the region, who can thus dedicate their efforts toward greater well-being instead of channeling them toward destructive purposes; 2) a real importance to the people who live outside the region; 3) with the people in the Balkans being in a position to solve their problems in a spirit of peaceful cooperation, it becomes evident that the possibility of outside interference into Balkan affairs disappears; 4) the theoretical importance of this idea is reflected in the fact that the theory of coexistence and cooperation can be applied instead of the theory of force, even in a region as traditionally agitated as the Balkans.

The Balkans are a region with a troubled historical heritage: on one hand, with an economic situation that is lagging that of other regions of Europe, and on the other hand, with a large variety of nations and nationalities. In addition to this domestic characteristic, the foreign aspect is the fact that this region was and still is exposed to the powerful interests of the large powers. The fundamental domestic and foreign traits of the region, which I mentioned above, have constantly mingled throughout the years.

The opportunities of foreign factors have increased at every appearance of domestic weaknesses, and vice-versa.

But on many occasions, the large powers have found "domestic weaknesses in the region" which they have exploited for their own interests.

By performing a logical analysis, it is possible to exit this vicious circle by introducing a third element, representing the interests of the people who live in the region, that is, the consciousness of their real interests.

Consequently, contrary to anachronistic policies which found the well-being of one nation in the poverty of another (long time ago, the basic principle of international economic relations was to "let my neighbor be a beggar so that I may use him better," which in international political relations was manifested in a mutual tendency to destroy or at least conquer the neighboring nation), the true interest of the people in the region, and of others as well, is peace and undisturbed social development.

The practical implementation of this real interest is achieved through fruitful cooperation with neighbor nations. But all countries have not overcome the negative aspects of their historical heritages, and first of all, their nationalistic tendencies.

Under these conditions they cannot truly take care of the real interests of their people. Consequently, the fatal illusion has been maintained until now, that short term national interests can be promoted with the help of a large power, while prejudicing other nations in the region. This phenomenon once more draws attention to the need, neglected until now, to maintain under constant observation the latent conflicts which generate incidents and tension among countries in the region.

Continued research into the roots of this phenomenon could lead to the identification of peaceful means for overcoming the region's instability.

This instability has its causes partially in the past, and is partially fed by contemporary developments at the international level in some countries, both in the economic and political arena.

If we accept the possibility of developing a consciousness of the necessity for coexistence and cooperation in the Balkans, then the multilateral and bilateral discussions of problem of common interest, at various levels, will lead to the fulfillment of this objective. If the multilateral discussions on common topics lead to the achievement of an international cooperation, then we are nearing the proposed goal--the development of a consciousness of the true interests of all the Balkan people, independently of past classifications (racial, religious), and independently of present differences in social systems or participation in various blocs.

One of the particularly important joint problems that need to be discussed multilaterally, is the creation of a denuclearized zone in the Balkans. Unfortunately, this is only one link in a whole chain of joint problems. In

addition to nuclear weapons there are other weapons which present a constant danger for this region. Moreover, even if nuclear weapons are stationed in other regions of Europe (outside of the Balkans), the people in the region can become victims of the use of these weapons. It is therefore necessary to fight against all types of nuclear weapons in Europe and throughout the world.

The Balkan people must cooperate to develop an awareness of common interests in establishing mutual friendship relations. For this, they must act independently of the differences that exist in their social and alliance systems, since peaceful coexistence can be achieved even under these diverse conditions.

The Balkan people can encounter lack of success in achieving this objective if they do not demonstrate a strong will, consequent to an ideology abandoned long ago, which is to profit from one's neighbor.

Another equally important aspect of multilateral discussions at various levels is economic cooperation. A long term multilateral economic cooperation in the Balkans could have the most profound consequences for the future. Greater competitiveness in the world economy and growth in the economic strength of the Balkan nations, together with the achievement of geostrategic security in the region, represent the common interests of all the countries in the zone. If all the relative advantages of economic cooperation among neighboring nations, particularly those derived from the complementarity of some economies, were to be used appropriately, the development of their own economies would be stimulated, and their positions in the world economy, as well as the struggle to establish a new international economic order, would be strengthened. These advantages show the possibility of developing an economic cooperation in all areas, and especially in the individual sector. At the same time, a long term economic cooperation crowned with success in the Balkans, which would be to everyone's advantage, would provide sound reasons for the Balkan states to maintain stability in the region, since this cooperation depends directly on the existence of good political relations. Such an economic cooperation would lay sound foundations for reaching the principal goal--the transformation of the Balkans into a zone of peace, security and cooperation--which would fully correspond to the real interests of the people in the region.

Stage and Prospects for Multilateral Balkan Cooperation, by Valentin Lipati, ambassador in MAE (Romania)

1. The transformation of the Balkans into a zone of peace, trust, and mutually advantageous collaboration, a zone free of nuclear weapons, military bases, and foreign troops, has been for more than two decades a priority goal of our country's foreign policy, expressed in many initiatives for Balkan cooperation undertaken by Romania.

In our concept, the Balkan collaboration has to develop both bilaterally and multilaterally because the two plans complement each other; the development of bilateral relations cannot be placed in opposition to multilateral

cooperation actions, nor vice-versa. That is why Romania and president Nicolae Ceausescu have always stood firmly in favor of the development of relations and contacts, of bilateral and multilateral cooperation among the Balkan nations.

It should also be added that although multilateral collaboration forms in the Balkans did precede to a large extent the more precise actions which by the end of the seventh decade have led to the preparation of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), Balkan cooperation, especially in its multilateral aspect, is closely associated with the establishment of security and the development of cooperation in Europe, a process which began more than ten years ago. We therefore conceive of the development of Balkan cooperation, of the transformation of the Balkans into a zone of peace, good neighborliness, trust, and collaboration, a zone free of nuclear weapons, as an integral part of the efforts to create a system of security and cooperation in Europe. Nor could it be otherwise, since the Balkan region is part of Europe. What is more, it can be said that after 1975, after the signing of the Final Act that sealed the decisions of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the efforts undertaken to develop multilateral Balkan cooperation did express and implement the letter and the spirit of the Final Act of Helsinki.

Starting with this approach to Balkan cooperation, Romania has carried out a sustained activity both to develop its bilateral relations with the other Balkan countries, and to encourage multilateral forms of cooperation. Well known in this respect are the frequent high level meetings between Romania's president, Nicolae Ceausescu, and chiefs of state and prime-ministers from the Balkan countries--a decisive element in encouraging and diversifying our country's relations, in many fields, with the other countries in the zone.

2. Chronologically, multilateral Balkan collaboration first developed at the non-governmental level.

Among the oldest forms of multilateral action among the Balkan nations, we should mention the activity of the Balkan Medical Union, an association which in 1982 had existed for 50 years. Under the slogan "Health, Friendship, Peace," the Balkan Medical Union is carrying out a remarkable activity in developing collaboration relations on medical and health problems, as well as in scientific research among the Balkan countries, thus contributing to the creation of a climate of good neighborliness, cooperation, and peace in the Balkans. A brilliant confirmation of this activity occurred recently, when on 23 February, Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu were awarded the Jubilee Medal of the Balkan Medical Union as an homage for the contribution which our party and state leadership has unceasingly made to international collaboration in the Balkans, in Europe, and throughout the world.

During the past quarter of a century, due to the initiatives taken by Romania and other Balkan nations, various means for multilateral collaboration, with different levels of institutionalization, have started to take shape: periodic multilateral meetings were organized in areas of common interest,

such as the exact and natural sciences, humanistic sciences, the arts, music, literature, films, folklore, urbanism, tourism, sports, and so on. At times, these activities, which have occurred regularly and have taken many guises (meetings, round tables, scientific seminars, travelling exhibits, festivals, and Balkaniads), have led to the formation of better-defined organizational structures. Thus were reactivated or created associations and unions of a non-governmental character. Notable here is the Balkan Union of Mathematicians, which undertakes multilateral cooperation activities among mathematicians in the Balkan countries. Also of interest is the International Association for Southeast European Studies (AIESEE), which was created in 1963 at our country's initiative, and whose headquarters are in Bucharest. The association is affiliated with UNESCO, which steadily supports it, and in the past two decades has achieved a remarkable collaboration activity in such fields as archeology, history, linguistics, folklore and ethnography, architecture and urbanism, the history of arts and literature, and so on. The national committees of the association are active not only in the Balkan nations, but in other member countries of the association, which gathers together Balkanologists from 22 countries. Other associations are the Conference of Balkan Architects, which meets periodically to discuss matters of collaboration in architecture and urbanism; the Permanent Conference of Southeast Europe Engineers, which gathers together technical-scientific associations of engineers from Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania, and Turkey; and the Carpathian-Balkan Geological Association, which for a long time has been performing important geological research in the Carpathian and Balkan chains. All these activities developed with positive results, constituting an important avenue for mutual knowledge and greater trust, friendship, and collaboration among various categories of specialists, and on a broader scale, among the countries and people of the Balkans.

3. While the forms of non-governmental Balkan collaboration were the first to occur because it was easier to achieve collaboration at this level, there was no lack of multilateral means of collaboration at the governmental level. However, these appeared later, and required more time and more sustained efforts to achieve their goals.

A first example is the Conference of Official Tourism Agencies from Balkan countries, which since 1966 meets regularly, in rotation, in the different countries of the zone, aiming to develop on the basis of concrete programs, collaboration among countries with clear touristic interests. In fact, 1983 was declared the year of tourism in the Balkans.

Another example of inter-government collaboration is the project to interconnect the electric transportation networks of the Balkan countries. A coordination committee composed of government experts, periodically meets in rotation in the region's countries to examine the measures that must be taken, and monitor their application so as to complete this project of real significance for the national economies of the Balkan countries.

But until seven years ago this encompassed about all the governmental multilateral cooperation activity. That is why a particularly significant milestone was the 1976 meeting in Athens, of the Reunion for Multilateral



Economic and Technical Cooperation Among Balkan States, whose participants were Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania, and Turkey. This meeting was a significant point in the Balkan multilateral cooperation, since it was held at a rather high government level, and proposed to concern itself with economic problems that were important for the participating countries. It was part of the implementation of the Final Act of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, being a prime example of the application of the decisions taken in Helsinki, at a Balkan sub-regional level; it also inaugurated a new model of negotiations, inspired by the democratic rules of procedure of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

It was unfortunately not possible in Athens, to establish a concrete program of multilateral meetings which would work on the decisions reached. It thus took a long time before the furnace of multilateral collaboration was rekindled. Ultimately however, the multilateral process that began at the Athens meeting did resume. The most obvious way to continue these efforts was to convene sectorial meetings to examine one or another of the large areas of cooperation established in Athens. Turkey thus took the initiative to host in Ankara in 1979, a meeting of experts on cooperation problems in communications and telecommunications; later, in 1981, Bulgaria organized in Sofia another meeting of experts on cooperation in transportation; and lastly, in 1982, a third meeting of experts was held in Bucharest, on cooperation in energy and energy raw materials. All these sectorial meetings, created by the need to exploit the proposals and topics specified at the Athens Reunion, had several merits. First, because it continued, at the level of government experts, the multilateral collaboration action in areas of great interest for the socioeconomic development of the Balkan countries. In second place, sectorial meetings made it possible to clarify and examine in greater depth many aspects of collaboration that had been discussed more superficially in Athens. And third but not least, sectorial meetings have contributed to affirm the concept of continuity of efforts, and beyond that, to improve the climate of trust, collaboration, and friendship among the Balkan nations.

However, these meetings have the disadvantage of topical discontinuity, because as long as sectorial meetings are organized in another area of cooperation, the recommendations and conclusions adopted at each meeting have no practical consequences. For this, it would be necessary to hold several meetings of experts in the same field of cooperation selected from among the list defined at the Athens Reunion; it would also be appropriate to hold, at some time, a meeting similar to the one in Athens, which will evaluate the progress made as a result of sectorial meetings, and adopt decisions for encouraging continued multilateral economic collaboration.

4. The actions undertaken by the countries in the zone have been supported by various United Nations agencies and programs (UNESCO, UNIDO, OMS, EEC/UN, UNDP, UNEP, and so on), which have financed large sub-regional cooperation projects, organized or encouraged periodic cooperation actions--as well as the conferences of national commissions for UNESCO in the Balkan countries, and have subsidized the programs of some Balkan associations.

5. The multilateral Balkan collaboration thus began more than two decades ago through collaboration activities at the non-governmental level, in areas of various joint interests, ranging from archeology to folklore, and from art and literature to tourism and sports. This is an expansive panoply of concerns, a rich vein of actions, which are still continuing and which are without question one of the important specific aspects of this collaboration. As the president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, recently indicated, an intensification and diversification of forms of multilateral collaboration, including the creation of new means of cooperation, is becoming a need for establishing broad relations of good neighborliness, respect, and friendship among the countries in the region.

Much more recently, governmental multilateral collaboration has also undergone a positive evolution since 1976, due especially to a number of meetings devoted to areas of interest for the economic development of the Balkan countries. In a wider sense, these have been examples of the application of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, because there is no doubt that multilateral cooperation in the Balkans, in areas which have already been mentioned, as well as in new ones which will be identified in the future, constitutes a significant and original contribution to the establishment of security and the development of collaboration on our continent.

We should also point out that this multilateral Balkan collaboration is not directed against the interests of any one state or group of states; it does not seek to create groups within the zone, nor to isolate the Balkan countries from other countries. On the contrary, multilateral cooperation in the Balkans is evidence of the will of the people in this region to live in peace and act together in conditions of complete equality.

6. In this context, of particular significance for the future of bilateral and multilateral Balkan cooperation, is to implement the initiative of the president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, who as we know, has proposed a high level meeting of the countries in the region to discuss ways and means for strengthening trust, collaboration, and peace in the Balkans. Such a meeting, whose sound foundations must be laid as soon as possible, would become an outstandingly positive action for the European continent, and would undoubtedly constitute a qualitatively new step in the development of Balkan collaboration. At the same time, such a meeting would open the way for examining the problem of denuclearizing the Balkan region as part of nuclear disarmament in Europe.

A model for organizing this meeting must of course be formulated. From a purely personal position, I would like to suggest a few ideas. As a rule, a high level meeting is very short; it must therefore be soundly prepared, including the document which it is expected to adopt. Consequently, I see such a high level meeting as being preceded by many bilateral consultations, then by multilateral meetings of experts, and then by meetings of deputy ministers and foreign affairs ministers. The agenda of the high level meeting should be sufficiently broad and flexible to allow the chiefs of state and government to address all the problems of joint interest that would transform

the Balkans into a zone of peace, good neighborliness, trust, and mutually advantageous collaboration, and free of nuclear weapons. Its participants would be the six Balkan nations. The meeting would be conducted on the basis of the CSCE rules of procedure, adapted for the specific aspects of the meeting, but retaining their essence, namely the participation of each country as a sovereign state, independent and equal in rights, the adoption of decisions by consensus, rotating chairmanship, and so on. The meeting could allow an extensive exchange of views among the chiefs of state and government, and would close with the adoption by consensus, of a document which would record the joint positions of the participants, a document which as I have stated, should be prepared in advance by the experts. This is how such a Balkan summit meeting could be imagined, a meeting that is so very necessary for new progress in multilateral collaboration and cooperation in the zone.

It is after all up to us, the Balkan countries, to act in this way, so that the powder keg of Europe, as the Balkan region was once defined, will become transformed into a region of good neighborliness, friendship, and mutual respect, a zone of fruitful collaboration, a zone free of nuclear weapons, in which peace and security will become the fundamental reality of tomorrow.

Some Considerations on the Politico-Military Aspect of Cooperation in the Balkans--a Romanian Viewpoint, by Constantin Ene, ambassador in MAE (Romania)

1. Just as cooperation in the Balkans cannot evolve as an action isolated from the overall situation on the European continent, the various aspects of this cooperation cannot be separated from the context and general stage of relations among the countries in the region. The politico-military aspect stands as a more advanced stage in the relations among these states through its direct relationship to the fundamental values of the goal of cooperation--the peace and security of the Balkan people. A more profound examination of this aspect deserves attention from the scientific community, since it has been less explored and therefore contains more expectations.

2. During the past 25 years, the idea of cooperation in the Balkans has taken the form of a multidimensional project for establishing in the Balkans a zone of peace, good neighborliness, and collaboration, free of nuclear weapons. Formulated for the first time on 10 September 1957 in the messages of the chairman of the Romanian Council of Ministers to the prime-ministers of the other Balkan nations, in the years that followed this idea was the object of several proposals and initiatives, within the countries of the region, at the UN, at the Geneva Disarmament Committee, and at other international forums.

The actions for peace, security, and cooperation in the Balkans received a new impulse after the meeting of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the signing of the Final Act.

The last proposal of the president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, seeks the "achievement of a high level meeting among the presidents and prime-ministers of the Balkan states to discuss together ways and means for developing

multilateral collaboration, and for transforming the Balkans into a zone of peaceful collaboration, free of nuclear weapons, without foreign military bases--as part of the general activity for an Europe of peaceful collaboration without nuclear weapons."

3. The establishment of a denuclearized status for the Balkans is part of the first proposals aimed at creating denuclearized zones in various regions of the world. The specific aspects and originality of the project, consist of the following, among other things:

It is the sole proposal for denuclearization aimed at creating such a zone in a region that contains members of the two military alliances, and non-aligned nations that are not part of alliances;

The proposal is a new step in the development and implementation of the concept and practice of creating denuclearized zones, insofar as it seeks both denuclearization and the withdrawal of nuclear weapons presently existing in the region;

The approach is multidimensional, with denuclearization being only one of the components of an overall project of transforming the Balkans into a zone of peace, good neighborliness, and cooperation.

4. The clarification of the elements of a zone of peace, good neighborliness, and collaboration, free of nuclear weapons in the Balkans, is at the same time an exercise in establishing the feasibility of the project:

a) As a whole, the project is oriented in a positive direction, consonant with the fundamental interests of the Balkan people, and with the current concern for increasing trust, security, and cooperation on the European continent;

b) The establishment of the zone would have no implications liable to affect the political structures existing in the region, such as boundaries, political affiliations, institutions. The project seeks relations of better understanding and cooperation among the states in the zone and those outside the zone, and does not seek to create a closed circle of interests, and even less any military bloc;

c) The undertaking of various components of the project is gradual. None of its components is a goal in itself.

The Romanian proposal for the organization of a high level meeting of the countries in the zone emphasizes the goal of "examining together" ways and means for strengthening trust and collaboration in the Balkans. It also intends to involve the most authorized political factors in exploring means for promoting cooperation in the region.

5. The military aspects (denuclearization) are the most complicated, being associated with the national security of the states. That is why efforts aimed at promoting military aspects must issue from well established criteria liable

to be stimulating and encouraging: any measure taken must help strengthen rather than weaken the security of any one of the participating states or of states in the zone, with respect to states outside the zone; the initiative must come from the states in the region, and participation must be voluntary; participation must be assured for all militarily strong nations, and preferably for all the nations in the zone; an efficient system must be provided for verifying the fulfillment of measures about which agreement has been reached; if all the states in the region do not participate from the beginning in creating the zone, negotiations must take into account the security of all, including the security of those which do not participate.

Membership in military alliances cannot constitute an obstacle for participation in a zone free of nuclear weapons. The problem is to find a balance between the obligations assumed by states participating in the zone, and those derived from membership in an alliance. This can be achieved by strict guarantees of equal security for participating states, including obtaining the guarantees asked from the nuclear powers. The president of Romania has shown that any country, even when it belongs to a military bloc, can and must lead its own policy, taking into consideration its own interests, and the interests of cooperation and collaboration with other nations.

Creation of a Denuclearized Zone in the Balkans, by Ali L. Karaosmanoglu, Institute for Foreign Policy, Ankara

The Balkan peninsula has traditionally been a changeable region, and its nations have always sought prosperity and a lasting peace. The heterogeneous nature of the Balkans stretches from the juxtaposition of various ethnico-religious groups to the coexistence of socioeconomic systems with differing governmental structures. Despite this diversity, likely to generate rivalries and mistrust, the region contains the elements of a common cultural basis and a history of mutual relations of conflict as well as as of cooperation.

Although some regionalization ideas did exist in the Balkans even before World War II, relations, and especially those at a non-governmental level, intensified during the 1960's and 1970's as a result of domestic and foreign factors such as detente, dissatisfaction of some countries in the region with their alliances, and the domestic political changes that occurred in some Balkan nations. Today, many examples of cooperation testify to the fact that the Balkan countries have already reached a considerable degree of mutual understanding. With the obvious exception of the Greek-Turkish disputes, a general trend exists for avoiding further disagreements. At the same time, cooperation activities have gradually become more visible than in the 1950's.

The improvement in the Balkan climate has generated a feeling that the time has come for a change in multilateral political cooperation, and even for exploring the possibilities for creating a structure of regional security based on Romania's pioneering work in the 1950's. In this respect, some political leaders, for diplomatic and domestic policy reasons, are now showing a tendency to promote with some perseverance the idea of creating a denuclearized zone in the Balkans.

The concept of a denuclearized zone reflects the wishes of the countries and people to live in a climate of trust, mutual security, and good neighborliness. The creation of such a zone could be an essential contribution to a consolidation of the existing policy of non-proliferation, and thus strengthen the stability of the global balance. The Balkan nations, including Turkey, have always pronounced themselves in favor of any initiative intended to contribute to stronger international security, promote detente, and create a climate of trust among nations. Moreover, efforts toward armament control constitute an integral part of their security policies.

Despite these, the general acceptance of denuclearized zones depends on a number of variable political and military aspects. No attempt in this field can be crowned with success if the necessary attention is not given to these critical factors. No proposal for armament control can be divorced from the political and strategic environment in which it is formulated.

In the process of negotiating an agreement for a denuclearized zone, the individual security of the states participating in this agreement cannot be neglected. In other words, the creation of such a zone must not reduce the degree of security of some nations while strengthening the security of other ones. A denuclearized zone must not create a condition of insecurity or increase tension by disrupting the military balance in the region. Otherwise stated, it must not create a situation that will be difficult to change.

A close strategic relationship exists between the conventional and nuclear levels. A change occurring in the strategic nuclear equilibrium through regional and partial disarmament measures can dangerously favor some states or alliances in terms of the conventional level. Thus, the creation of a denuclearized zone in the Balkans must not generate a more fragile security climate than the present status quo.

It should be mentioned at the same time, that the guarantees given by the superpowers, that no nuclear weapons will be used against countries which are part of a denuclearized zone, are not sufficient. These must also be extended to conventional forces, and no guarantee can be real if it is not accompanied by substantial measures of disarmament and verification. In this respect, the delimitation of the zone, the question of peripheral areas, the right of transit, are of great importance to the strategic situation in the Balkans, where the scene is dominated by a number of military factors that are complex and sensitive to the two alliances.

Against this background, it might be useful to initiate discussions about matters of detail regarding the creation of a denuclearized zone in the Balkans, since many important problems of principle have not yet been solved.

Many possibilities which must be explored exist in the economic and political spheres. A broad potential exists in areas in which it is easier to obtain positive results under the present conditions. Would it not be wiser not to reverse priorities and not to venture into an area in which failure is more probable than success?

Moreover, the exploitation of the idea of a denuclearized zone in the Balkans for propaganda purposes or for the sake of diplomatic maneuvers could erode the credibility of the proposal and discourage the true idealists who share it.

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CSO: 2700/66

'SOLIDARITY' WITH EMBATTLED TUDEH PARTY VOICED

AU132039 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Dec 83 p 5

[Commentary by Vladimir Lipsky in the "On the Margin" column:  
"A Shameful Trial"]

[Text] A few days ago, a court trial was opened in Tehran against the leading representatives of the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh). At the beginning of the trial, an accusation was leveled against five people, including Nurraddin Kianuri, who was until now first secretary of the Tudeh Party's Central Committee. But now matters have developed in a way which has left only one person on the bench of the accused--Captain Afzali [spelling as published]; the others appear as witnesses. It is not quite clear what had caused the change of the "stage-management" of this shameful affair--whether it was the pressure of the public and of the political circles, also from abroad, or whether the Iranian authorities themselves have recognized that they are standing on the shaky feet of fabrications and dubious inventions. True, Kianuri and another member of the party's leadership, Muhammad Mahdi Portavi [spelling as published], are forced to appear as the main witnesses anyway; a group of prominent French lawyers has declared that they have been obviously influenced and manipulated by psychic torture, and thus claim that Captain Afzali had been a member of some "secret organization" in the Tudeh Party and that they allegedly provided him with military information, which he conveyed to the Soviet Union.

The Tudeh Party has had no "secret organization"; in fact it operated quite legally, after the Shah's regime was overthrown, with the approval of the leading figures of the Islamic Republic of Iran; the Tudeh Party's policy was based on an alliance with them. It is known that the party deserves great credit for neutralizing several plots against the new regime in the country. Apart from that, none of the accused or witnesses had held functions in governmental civil or military bodies, or had access to the information that is now claimed at the trial.

In its more than 40-year history, when most of the time it had to work underground, the Tudeh Party has been systematically and consistently fighting for national independence, freedom, and social justice in the country. Eternal credit is due to it for overthrowing the pro-American monarchist regime, particularly by organizing the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian workers class which incapacitated the state's structure in the years 1978-79 by long-lasting strikes, mainly in the sphere of crude oil extraction and refining, and thus established favorable conditions for putting an end to the hated dictatorship.



The attack against this party is simultaneously an attack against the revolutionary process in Iran. The Foreign Committee of the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh) declared in this connection that "imperialism is carrying out a policy aimed at regaining domination over Iran and, on the international scale, at expanding still more the so-called crusade against communism and the Soviet Union."

However, despite persecutions and although about 8,500 communists are being held imprisoned in the ill-famed Evin prison in Tehran, the Tudeh Party continues to live--it has gone deep underground and is organizing itself for new phases in the battles for Iran's better future. The revolutionary and progressive forces of the whole world, including our own Communist Party and the Czechoslovak working people, are feeling solidarity with the heroic and courageous Iranian communists.

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PREREQUISITES OF PLAN FULFILLMENT: EFFICIENCY, FLEXIBILITY

Prague NOVA MYSL in Slovak No 11, 5 Oct 83 pp 3-14

[Article by Mikulas Beno, CPCZ Central Committee secretary: "Work Quality and Efficiency Decisive in Determining Results of Fulfillment of Program of 16th CPCZ Congress"]

[Text] The foundation of the policy of our party and our socialist state is an ongoing orientation towards assuring an economic and social program in the interest of maintaining and improving the quality of the living standards and strengthening the sociopolitical certainties of the working person. "We do not plan for the sake of planning, nor do we organize production for its own sake," emphasized the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Comrade Gustav Husak, at the 16th Party Congress. "Rather everything that we do, all of our efforts for the development of socialism for the flowering of our country are directed toward the benefit of workers. The well-being of man is and will remain the supreme purpose of our efforts." Today, this means a substantial increase in the effectiveness of the national economy, its ability better to satisfy the needs of society through greater efficiency and increased quality of all work, and to shift the economy onto an intensive development path resulting in a significant increase in labor productivity. In the words of V.I. Lenin, this is "...in the final analysis the most important and main consideration for the victory of the new social order."

This strategy which the party is implementing stems from the foundations of a socialist society, is aimed at its mature form, and represents the most important interests of our people. It expresses the continuation of the long-range program for building developed socialism in our country as outlined at the 14th and further elaborated at the 15th and 16th Congresses of our party. It makes creative use of the objective laws of social development, the rich experiences gained from the socialist construction of all the socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union and its Leninist communist party, and establishes objectives for further socialist construction. It is developing and utilizing to the fullest extent the potential and historical advantages of socialism to assure the vital interests of our people. At the same time it reacts to pressing international aspects of the development of our society, to the need for strengthening the economic, political and ideological forces of our country and the entire socialist community.

A view of the work which has been accomplished since the 16th Congress indicates, and the evaluation by the party Central Committee confirms, that we are being successful in assuring the comprehensive, harmonious development of socialist Czechoslovakia and the lives of our people. Our immense material-production base is developing further, and the scientific and technical potential of society is growing. Under complicated conditions we are gradually succeeding in developing the intensification of the national economy and increasing labor productivity, at the same time that the economic growth rate is reviving. In this struggle for the implementation of congress resolutions, the trust of the workers in the party is being forged and strengthened, and its authority as the leading political force in society is growing. This above all is an inexhaustible source of activity and the development of creative work by workers, cooperative farmers, the socialist intelligentsia and other workers.

The daily political struggle to master tasks related to the long-range objectives of the socioeconomic and cultural development of our society occupies a dominant place in the activity of party organs and organizations. This is not, however, an automatic process without problems. Not everywhere is there a full understanding or implementation with a high level of rigorousness and responsibility of the requirement for the full and comprehensive utilization of the production, research and development, and above all the human potential of a socialist society.

In view of our experiences, for the implementation of party policy Lenin's point has particular significance, that in the programmatic elaboration of individual stages and periods in the building of socialism into the form of understandable project-objectives, it is essential to research "the chain of social phenomena...in their economic and politically mutual relationships," and on this basis continually subject to critical analysis the results of revolutionary and transformational activity and study, and to rigorously evaluate one's own work.

Now more than ever before it is true that the proper establishment of a strategy and the means for implementing it are critical to the quality of its implementation, that the way in which its undistorted, complete form is incorporated into the consciousness and activities of communists determines how it will be transmitted through their actions and attitudes to other workers and the extent to which its implementation will become the objective of every management link, every social organization, and of the conscious activity of entire work collectives.

The tasks which we are working on today in connection with increasing the effectiveness of the production process, intensifying the economy and strengthening the qualitative aspects of the development of other areas of our socialist society makes it essential to bear in mind in all party, state and economic activities the criterion that the success of managerial, organizational, and training work cannot be measured in any other way than by the results that are achieved. This depends in turn on quality work from people and cadres, on the techniques, forms and styles of work, on creative, activist approaches to assignments and on a high level of morale and conscientious discipline in their fulfillment.

The approaches which our Central Committee is implementing and which are being asserted throughout the party make it possible to see the true state of development, to establish proper perspectives and to determine the directions of the further building of a developed socialist society.

We have moved into the second half of the period for implementing the conclusions of the 16th Congress and of the state plan in the third year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR Government have evaluated the results achieved during the past 2 years as well as national economic development in the first half of this year. It is a positive sign that, through the concentrated efforts of party, state, economic and social agencies and organizations and worker collectives, trends have begun to be established of an accelerated economic development rate based primarily on the improved valuation of material and energy inputs, greater return on assets and greater reductions in costs than those projected as state plan targets.

For our further successful progress it is important to base our actions on the resolutions of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium from August of this year regarding the development of the national economy and the fulfillment of the state plan based on a sober and realistic evaluation of achieved results. This means the thorough and comprehensive implementation everywhere of a quality orientation to both the economy and society as a whole. Expenditures of labor must be judged according to results and the quality and effectiveness of the final application of the resources that are created, based on the level to which personal and social requirements are satisfied. At the same time, however, the long-term developmental needs of our society demand that we maintain the accelerated economic growth rate that we have generated for the remainder of 1983 and the final 2 years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

Preparations for and the assurance of the state plan for 1984 are just now being discussed at workplaces, factories, enterprises and at economic production units [VHJ]. It is precisely at this time that we must step up the intensity and the assertiveness of managerial, politico-organizational, training and controlling work with the objective of more decisively utilizing the flexible factors of the established economic strategy and focusing efforts on the elimination of shortcomings and the resolution of problems which are preventing a more rapid and thorough practical implementation of the plan.

We must not overestimate the moderate overfulfillment of the planned national economic development rate. After all, production in excess of the plan to a large extent goes to production consumption or remains frozen in inventories, with only a small fraction of it making its way to the domestic market, capital investment, and to foreign trade, to those places, in short, where it is to fulfill its socioeconomic mission. We are still struggling with those who act as though under socialism there is no need for tight management, the rational organization of production and all work, high motivation and discipline. Certain senior managers devote more effort to justifying their requests or explaining why they

have not fulfilled their targets than to a deep, critical analysis of developments and the seeking of ways to speed up research and development, product innovations, to find their own progressive solutions to problems at workplaces and critical sectors. At times even party organizations give in to this type of approach, by only recording problems and shortcomings rather than from a principled party position searching for solutions to pressing tasks, and fighting for the fulfillment of public requirements expressed in the state plan.

A conscientious and consistent struggle for the implementation of tasks established by the plan and overfulfilling them in socially desirable directions along with a high level of planning and implementational discipline is an expression of party commitment, of a political attitude to the needs of society. In this lies the practical application of the principle that the plan is a law, the backbone, the essential condition of the building of socialism, of an understanding that the objectives which it establishes are not final but represent a degree of recognition of the potential and requirements of society. Such attitudes cannot be only proclaimed. The role of party organs and organizations and the entire managerial sphere is to exert a more significant influence in this regard on the thoughts and actions of people so that in their practical daily activities they uncover underutilized capacity and make use of new possibilities for solutions to the critical questions of the economic and social program.

This kind of a creative conception of managerial, politico-organizational, ideologically educational and mass political work will to a large extent determine the results of efforts to implement the resolutions of the Eighth CPCZ Central Committee Plenum concerning the more rapid practical application of research and development findings. These are, as the 16th Congress emphasized, "the determining factor in intensification and the most powerful source of increased labor productivity," which is indeed the revolutionary task of our entire society.

We have many positive experiences with enterprises and factories where on the basis of the unified implementation of economic, organizational and educational factors R&D progress has begun to be introduced as the true focus of economic and social development, planning, management, economic and motivational incentives. This primary requirement, however, is still not exerting an influence with its full power. In management activity in the critical area of increased labor productivity the level of its practical implementation varies. In the consistent implementation of the resolution concerning the linking of the advantages of a socialist social system based on the leading role of the working class and resting on the social ownership of the means of production with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution we perceive a manifestation of communist commitment and practicality, a creative approach to the resolution of the key issues in the building of developed socialism.

Our experiences have confirmed the continuing vitality and great relevance of one of the basic viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism, namely that the

historical process of the building of socialism is conditioned on the committed activity of the subjective factor, above all the communist party as a vital sociopolitical organism which, while retaining its revolutionary foundations, continually develops an inseparable unity with the formation of a socialist society. The 14th, 15th, and 16th CPCZ Congresses clearly showed that the insignificance and role of the party as the leading political force, the vanguard of the working class and of all workers under the conditions of the building of a developed socialist society continues to grow significantly. "The more developed our society becomes, the more demanding are the political, economic and ideological tasks, the more persistent is the need for a leading role for the party, the more comprehensive must its implementation be."

The party leadership is linked to all aspects of the implementation of the program for building a developed socialist society and the functioning of the entire system of social management. This requires the systematic development of the implementational power of the party. A significant role is played here by the comprehensive handling of tasks in the political, socioeconomic and cultural areas established in the programmatic strategy of the 16th Congress and in the resolutions of the CPCZ Central Committee, their creative application to specific conditions and, above all, the development of an assertive struggle for their implementation at workplaces and all locations.

While emphasizing the most important matter at the present time, the thorough implementation of the adopted objectives and resolutions, one must not forget the Leninist principle of which we were reminded recently by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yu. Andropov, that anyone who involves himself in specific questions without first resolving general questions will at every step of the way, until he realizes this, "trip over these general questions. And blindly to trip over them in each individual case means to condemn our policy to the worst kind of fluctuations and lack of principle."

In this regard our experience has confirmed that a reliable technique for increasing the effectiveness of party work in the resolution and assurance of critical economic, social and politically educational objectives is a comprehensive, priority programmed approach. It is our judgement that many territorial party organs and organizations, when introducing and implementing these very demanding techniques, have recently completed a large amount of work. The practical expression of their efforts at deepening the practicality, commitment and specificity of party activities are plans for a unified approach, for short-term or long-term objectives, and other new forms through which party organizations are concentrating the forces of the entire political system on the critical and most important tasks. What is important is that they are emerging as an important mechanism for unifying approaches to the implementation of congress resolutions, assisting in orienting the activities of party agencies and social organizations, of the corps of functionaries, senior managers, all communists and entire worker collectives to the key issues. They are making it possible to assign specific

responsibility for task fulfillment and to create the conditions for specific and systematic controls on how the established program is being implemented. We support these innovative approaches as an example for further expansion and application.

Our experience has confirmed that further increases in the quality and results of party work does not depend on the number of adopted resolutions and measures but on the number of implemented projects, and above all on the development of a unified politico-organizational and ideologically educational presence in all areas and in all sectors of socialist construction. An approach in which a critical place is occupied by work with people today represents the most important precondition for the successful implementation of the basic objectives of economic and social policy, the intensification of the economic development of our society and the requisite increase in the sophistication of managerial work in conjunction with the socialist education of workers. We have enough examples which attest to the fact that high labor productivity, work quality and effectiveness indicators, along with the development of an atmosphere of creative, comradely cooperation, work and sociopolitical activity are achieved by collectives of workers at those enterprises, factories and workplaces where party organizations and agencies are at the head of concrete and multifaceted politico-organizational and politically educational work. Where the assertiveness of this political influence is evident in a work collective deeply mastering the basis and the purpose of the economic and political objectives and tasks, its members are convinced of the propriety and essential nature of the steps leading to the rational management of all resources and to the highly effective formation of new values, recognize the concrete conditions and paths to the implementation of the established tasks and actively participate in fulfilling them.

It is not always the case, however, that we are successful in developing party leadership techniques which correspond to the difficult tasks related to the implementation of R&D progress and the introduction of good management practices and efficiency in all sectors. We also must more decisively implement approaches and forms of work which assist in the experiencing of life in its most direct form and which assure task fulfillment. At the same time we must rid ourselves of practices which divert the activities of party agencies and organizations from daily work with people, and continually keep in view the level and trends of socialist development and the extent of mass awareness.

In all of the foregoing areas it is evident that still much more must be accomplished not only in terms of party activities but also in all spheres of state and party life and at specific levels of management to cultivate the comprehensive development and implementation of a Leninist style of work. This is "...a creative style," as was emphasized by a resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on the 80th anniversary of the Second Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party Congress, "which makes a scientific approach possible to all social processes, enables constant reliance on the masses, assures profound specificity, concreteness, strictness and an

uncompromising attitude to all manifestations of formalism, bureaucracy and ostentation." It is a proven way to implement successfully the demanding tasks and requirements of party strategy, for overcoming restricted conceptions of managerial activities, administrative work, for increasing decisionmaking competence while at the same time developing the role of managerial cadres as educators and organizers of workers.

In accordance with increasing demands on the work of all communists, the party Central Committee has placed concern for the political, theoretical and practical preparation of members of elected agencies, the party apparatus and the entire party rank and file at the top of its list of priorities. This is shown by the fact that more than 92 percent of the senior secretaries and secretaries of okres party committees have a college-level political education. At the same time the number of functionaries who have completed long-term courses at party schools or evening universities of Marxism-Leninism has increased. Of the functionaries of basic organizations, more than 45 percent of the chairmen have completed these higher forms of party education. At the party conferences which took place this year, more than 56 percent of those elected to okres committees had this type of theoretical political training. The general and specialized education levels of members of elected party organs is also increasing. This contributes to a deeper mastery of the basic of Marxism-Leninism teachings, of the current issues of party policy and to the proper preparation of the party rank and file to implement these objectives in their practical activities.

Experiences from the implementation of congress strategies has confirmed that we have enough qualified personnel capable of handling the complex problems connected with socialist construction in a creative manner. We respect the work of all party agencies and organizations which are trying to see to it that these preconditions become more clearly evident in more initiative-taking and creative approaches by senior managers in individual sectors and levels of state and economic management to increasing production efficiency, improving the utilization of the main factors of intensified economic development and even to the training and organizing of work collectives. Practice, however, has also confirmed that despite the fact that greater strictness is being fought for in attitudes towards personnel and the evaluation of the results of their work, the main point of view is not always the assertion of the public interest, there is not always overcoming harmful tolerance and cautiousness which in turn lead to reductions in demands and even to the uncritical justification of shortcomings. Only concrete, individualized work with personnel and a profound knowledge of their activities will permit the fuller development of a differentiated approach to managerial employees: to support those who are successfully assuring party policy, effectively assist those who have the ability to be successful in their positions, and take action in those cases where the work is not being carried on successfully.

In view of the character and difficulty of the tasks which we will be working on, even greater importance is possessed by the congress resolution that the upcoming period will see a further increase in demands on senior



cadres, on their abilities to manage, lead, educate and organize workers to fulfill the tasks of the economic and social program of the party. To increase the sophistication of managerial work in accordance with the needs of society and with the objective of assuring ahead of time, on the basis of developed conceptual guidelines, the training of managerial cadres, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium approved in November 1982 a directive providing for the further raising of the qualifications of senior managers in the area of the economy. Presently we are engaged in its gradual but thorough implementation.

We consider it to be a very pressing task, in conjunction with increasing the professionalism of managerial cadres, to increase their ability to create within work collectives a positive sociopolitical climate, a comradely, fruitful and creative atmosphere in which everyone feels truly responsible for wise resource management. Senior managers must know how to stimulate the initiative and interest of workers in everything that is new, support the introduction of progressive experiences, techniques, or new technologies, while at the same time strengthening a conscious morality and discipline.

Today, when we are devoting so much more attention to the qualitative aspects of the development of our society in production, the economy, and in the education of the socialist man, we are devoting extraordinary attention to seeing to it that the work of party, state, economic organs and social organizations is applied to those situations where congress resolutions are being implemented through the work of communists and nonparty members.

A significant feature in this regard is the long-term orientation of the party towards the systematic strengthening of the importance and role of the lowest-ranking party elements, the basic organizations, and its attention to increasing their capacity for action and the activation of communists. In connection with the pressing requirement for the fullest possible application of the leading role of the party in society, the 14th CPCZ Congress emphasized that the okres party committees must perceive "...their main mission in the management of the basic organizations, in the assurance of party policy in those places where its fate is decided upon and acted out--in the factories, cooperatives, and cities." This fundamental guideline was further specified by the 15th and 16th CPCZ Congresses.

This profound purpose in the long-range orientation towards the strengthening of the role of the basic organizations of the party, increasing their capacity for action and the activity of every communist stems from the very basis of the party, from its activities as the leading political force of revolutionary social change. It is a matter of raising the fighting capacity of the basic political element of the party, which forms the very first front in the struggle for the implementation of its policy, which directly and continually, as V.I. Lenin noted more than once, unifies the party with the masses. This by the same token increases demands on the work of the higher party agencies and intensifies their responsible mission.

The struggle for the implementation of congress resolutions confirms the necessity for additional practical steps which are heeded at specific levels of party management in order to strengthen the comprehensive impact of basic organizations within work collectives. In practice this means creating in the upcoming period in a purposeful and systematic way the organizational, personnel and ideologically political preconditions for this to occur.

The work collective is more and more appearing in the role of a committed and creative force, that of the organizer and manager. A greater and greater portion of collectives are taking on more assignments and by the participation of their members in socialist competition they are achieving many exemplary work successes in fulfilling the tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. This without a doubt reflects the active approach and results of the influence of party organizations and communists who stand in the forefront of the struggle of the workers for the satisfaction of public requirements.

The great possibilities for creative worker initiatives and their implementation are indicated by the overall results of management efforts with fuels, energy and raw materials, the many implemented anti-import measures, the implementation of programs of innovation, invention and improvement suggestions, and the modernization of many enterprises and factories. As indicated also by the first experiences from the introduction of progressive brigade forms of work organization and compensation, its broad implementation is creating the overall conditions for greater participation by work collectives in the management, administration and control of common concerns. This is an area where the economic side is linked with the education of the person regarding a new approach to work and to resource management. It stimulates an interest in increasing qualifications, in eliminating disorder, strengthening morale and discipline, and at a higher level it introduces the joining of individual and public interests. It confirms how essential it is to analyse deeply the life and work of a basic element of our society--the work collectives all the new initiatives which are generated in their midst, and to eliminate everything which retards and reduces their performance.

A positive, creative atmosphere in the work collective begins with the quality of planning, management and work organization, and is strengthened by the thorough implementation of the merit principle in compensation and a concern for social and educational issues. Expanded worker participation in management is helped in all ways by the technique of counterplanning. This way of providing economic and motivational incentives in progressive work results must be continually expanded to all areas of social activity and permanently implemented, not only in the formation of economic plans, but also as an inseparable component of our daily work, and especially in managerial activity and the expansion of creative initiatives, the search for new possibilities, and the implementation of worker suggestions for solving problems.

This is an important feature of the Leninist work style, which assists in the broadest possible development of the creative forces which are at the disposal of our society, the working class in alliance with the cooperative farmers and the intelligentsia. It also has an impact on changing attitudes from one of "mine" to one of "ours," and on the strengthening of the importance of conscientious, committed and initiative-taking work which must be the highest measure of dignity and social authority of every person, for in the final analysis this is what is critical for the further successful development of our socialist society.

It has become evident that we must in a much more decisive fashion overcome numerous and varied retardants, the common denominator of which is the underestimation of the role of work collectives in the managerial and economic areas as well as in the education of people. We often also still encounter administrative, formalistic attitudes toward managerial work, a noncritical, unprincipled position regarding shortcomings, the disruption of state and work discipline and motivation. All of this has the effect of weakening creative initiative and activity, and has a negative impact on the formation and motivational and political profile of workers as managers at their own workplace.

In the life of collectives, as well as in every social organism, nonantagonistic conflicts which are linked with the level of development of our socialist society are evident. They cannot be ignored. Their timely recognition and resolution represents an important motivating force in overcoming old habits, attitudes and approaches in the struggle for the satisfaction of public requirements. Within work collectives there is a struggle being waged on the old with the new for new, progressive ways of dealing with problems.

In all of the above areas the responsible and irreplaceable role of party organs, especially basic organizations, stands out. They occupy a special position on the one hand because they constitute the decisive part of the great organism which is the party, its base which is in constant touch with the people. On the other hand, they constitute the committed and organized political core of the work collective. As the forward division at the front of the economic and cultural building of our society, party organizations are the political center, inspiration, and organizer of everything that happens at the workplace. "We, communists, do not wish nor may we allow ourselves to be differentiated from other workers in any way other than by our greater responsibility, commitment, industry and awareness," emphasized Comrade Gustav Husak at the 16th Party Congress. It is precisely in the work collectives that the exemplary and socialist relationship of a communist to his work is realized. It is where their authority is exercised and where the vital, direct political work with the people is performed. The mission of the communist is always to be in the forefront, where it is sometimes difficult to work independently, with an initiative-taking, creative attitude, and to struggle with everything that would retard our progress, which resists communist ideals and morality.

The greater responsibility of communists is reflected under the current complex conditions also in growing demands on those who are accepted into the party. It places greater demands on political work in work collectives, on the individual training of future party members, so that they are willing to take upon themselves the responsibility of voluntarily giving more for the good of society. Therefore, the Central Committee requires that the strengthening of the ranks of the party always be linked with the struggle of the party for the implementation of its political strategy, with the organizational and educational activities of the basic organizations. The thorough practical implementation of this continually valid and practically verified principle creates an effective defense against haphazard, strictly administrative approach to acceptance into party ranks and guarantees that the quality of those who choose to link their lives to that of the party will increase.

The fact that ever greater portions of the membership have no direct experience of the class struggle against capitalism, of the building of the foundations of socialism, and have not passed through the sharp struggle with rightist opportunism in the crisis period must force us : further to strengthen ideological work within the party. From the viewpoint as well of implementing the key objective of broadly developing efforts to implement in practice R&D findings, in view of the sharpening class struggle between socialism and imperialism, and for the preservation of world peace, it is essential today to proceed even more actively with the ideologically educational and practical political training of communists.

The Third Plenum of the party Central Committee, which convened immediately after the 16th Congress, adopted a directive that increased commitment on the part of communists, and their personal example in the practical implementation of party policy is one of the important preconditions for increasing the quality of the ranks of the party. This places greater demands on the sophistication of the work of party organizations, on the development of a full-blooded internal party life so that a collective attitude, criticism and self-criticism can be consistently applied within it, and so that all communists may actively participate in it. In this regard we consider it essential to further increase the role of the member meeting in the life of the party, where the unification, arming and mobilization of communists takes place, where it is possible objectively to judge work results, raise critical comments and suggestions and establish the measures necessary to assure task completion. We must take care that the activist character of party discussions be continually increased, that formal, useless meetings and conferences disappear from party life, and that communists always be well prepared for activities in their work sectors.

At present, when congress resolutions are being further specified for the upcoming period, much depends on the full development of the control function of party organizations, so that the greatest possible participation on the part of work collectives be extended to it. In short, fortify it with mass control from below. We convince ourselves every day of the

magnitude of the force represented by the regular and rigorous control of the fulfillment of party resolutions in an education focused on greater activity and responsibility for fulfilling assigned tasks, in the struggle against indifference, the disruption of discipline and other conflicts. Only in this way can we further strengthen responsibility for work, and intensify the effectiveness of the struggle against the violation of the principles of socialist legality, motivation and discipline.

A permanent aspect of the building of socialism is the link between the internal issues of its development and world developments. In our daily work we convince ourselves of the deep correctness of the resolution emphasized by the 16th Congress, that "...we are building socialism, a new society under conditions of a stubborn struggle between two antithetical social systems, two irreconcilable ideologies." This reality is fully reflected in the political, ideological and economic areas. It is therefore especially urgent to increase in all sectors of our social life the ability to react actively and in a timely manner to the far-reaching changes in the world, to the dangerous course of imperialism in trying to turn back world development, disrupt the strategic military balance and regain its lost position.

The results of our work in implementing the practical objectives and tasks of socialist construction, increasing the economic potential and defensive capabilities of our country, constitute an important international contribution to the struggle for social progress and support for the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist community and other peaceloving forces in thwarting the risky intentions of world imperialism. Our communist party is devoting all its efforts to the meeting of these noble objectives--the well-being of the working man and the assurance of a peaceful life for him.

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CSSR REACTS TO ROCKET PLACEMENT

Soviet Sitings Supported

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 12 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by Dagmar Vaneckova: "A 'More Peaceful' Life in the CSSR--Soviet Missiles Are the Main Subject of Discussion From Politburo to Beer Hall"]

[Text] Vienna--In early November, the state police conducted a "dialogue" about the deployment of Soviet missiles in the CSSR with 17 civil rights advocates from Prague, among them several Charta-77 speakers and activists. On that occasion, a clear warning was sounded against any expressions of opinion or spontaneous peace demonstrations. Mathematician Vaclav Benda, who had been released from jail only last May after serving a 4-year term, former foreign minister Dr Jiri Hajek, 70, and Charta speaker Jan Kozlik were lectured by the state police for more than 24 hours about "pernicious peace propaganda." It was emphasized more than once that the deployment of SS-20s as well as the peace movement were matters for the communist party to deal with.

According to the 1981 CSSR Statistical Handbook, the 1965 expenditures for army and security services amounted to 10.125 billion crowns. This was followed by the era of detente, and until 1980 these expenditures amounted to 22.9 billion crowns. To get an approximate idea of the actual arms expenditures, one would have to add those budget items which are hidden under such line items as transportation, industry, education, health, technology, science, etc.

There are no statistics which would indicate what percentage of CSSR territory is devoted to exercise grounds and restricted military areas. Such prohibited zones are everywhere. In the Doupovske vrchy ("Monkey Mountains") there were at one time 25 villages with a total of 1,358 houses and 7,119 inhabitants. But that whole area was razed, including the Doupov monastery, when the Soviet tank artillery happened to require a target range. The forests west of Dobris are closed to mushroom pickers, because a huge exercise area is nearby. Nor do vacationers have a chance to relax in the south Bohemian forests near Bechyne or near Budejovice, since interceptor aircraft take off and land there at all hours of the day and night. Even though the Soviet occupation forces are well hidden, they need just as much space as do the Czech troops. Agriculture, environmental protection and the needs of the population are ignored in this context.

Rumors abound in Bohemia and Moravia to the effect that the massive building sites of future nuclear power plants are being used also in the construction of Soviet missile bases. According to some reports, a launching ramp is said to be in the area between Ivancice and Dukovany, where the southern Moravian nuclear power plant is under construction, only about 50 km from the Austrian border. The next location likely to be chosen is Temelin in southern Bohemia, where a gigantic nuclear power plant has been under construction since last August.

In the CSSR not only streets are named after military units and elite troops, in commemoration of the war or specific battles. Factories, schools, even agricultural cooperatives bear designations of that type, as for example the "Red Army Agricultural Cooperative" in Hrusovany near Brno. Whether raising pigs or planting carrots, eternal gratitude must be shown for having been liberated and military traditions must be revered. Even though it might seem like a parody, it shows the serious essence of a basic attitude which is not exactly pacifist in nature.

Young men must endure military drill not only during their active duty service; they are required to go through a type of preparatory training in special centers much earlier on. As readers of Prague's party paper RUDE PRAVO learned last March, 6,500 recruits were assembled in 49 such training centers in Bratislava and underwent rigorous training several times per week in preparation for active duty. Many of the youngsters were said to be physically ill-prepared for this; some didn't know how to swim. The blame for this was put on the schools: in the opinion of the newspaper, military training should become an obligatory school subject.

There is of course no such thing as alternate service in the CSSR. Anyone who refuses to serve his 2 years' obligatory military duty because of his religious convictions, being the head of a family or other social or conscientious reasons can expect only one thing: prison and then 2 years of military service on top of it. Protestant clergyman and Charta-77 signer Ales Brezina for instance was given 3 years in prison. Another signer, laborer Juraj Kazik from Chomutov in northern Bohemia, preferred committing suicide to letting himself be drafted.

The chairman of the Association for Cooperation with the Army (SVAZARM), General Vrba, stated last October that his organization is a solid component of the political system. This simply means that in Bohemia and Moravia alone, 6,750 organizations with a total membership of 644,377 are subject to paramilitary training. The association is organized exactly like the Soviet DOSAAF; apart from civil defense, centralized physical and sports training and the people's militia with its thousands of armed members, it has always played an important role in the country's "peaceful" life.

#### Charta-77 Not Permitted to Participate in Peace Congress

Charta-77 wanted to be represented at this year's peace congress in Prague, but was not permitted to do so. Beyond that, several civil rights activists were interrogated by the police and were, during a meeting of peace activists from

the FRG, England, and the Netherlands, who were official delegates to the congress, forcefully removed from a Prague park. A Charta-77 appeal to the congress participants, which was never distributed to them, contained these words: "The connection between peace and human rights is frequently emphasized. We do not believe that this merely refers to some kind of close or loose connection between two different and more or less independent entities. Rather, we believe that thousands of unalterable facts speak for the fact that we are here dealing with only one single matter...."

In October the Italian Radical Party had intended to demonstrate in Prague in parallel with the Western peace marches. But the bus carrying the Italians got no further than Hainburg--the Czech border barriers remained closed. Roberto Smeraldi and Andrea Tamburi from Florence and Luciano Rusconi from Bergamo who still went to Prague pretending to be tourists and briefly distributed handbills on Wenceslas Square were arrested, interrogated and subsequently deported to Italy.

This is what RUDE PRAVO printed on 21 October 1983: "One basic fact must not be ignored: apart from unjustifiable war, which is motivated by the politics and the class interests of world imperialism, there are also just wars--for national liberation, for self defense, against genocide, for the survival of peoples...." According to that concept, a war can be expected to break out wherever the objectives of world revolution, of the class struggle and, finally, those of "real socialism" have not been attained to date. Some enthusiastic peace activists in the West might not object to such a war. Or would they?

On the one hand, Prague is increasing its participation in the roulette game of war hysteria, to create a distraction for public opinion on such subjects as food shortages and mismanagement; on the other hand the rulers of the CSSR are afraid of the growing apathy, pessimism and a lack of perspective, all of which do not exactly promote work discipline and better performance. One thing is certain: everybody in Bohemia and Moravia is talking these days about the so-called "enlargement of the missile bases," from the Politburo to the beer halls. There is dissatisfaction with this subject in both places--though for different reasons.

#### Western Sitings Condemned

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 16 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by 'R. St.': "East European Reactions to Counterarming--Sharp Condemnation From Prague"]

[Text] Prague, December--Regardless of East bloc official statements, the start of missile deployment in Western Europe has provoked a variety of reactions in the various countries. The GDR is trying to at least maintain the status quo in inner-German relations despite the counter-counterarming; Hungary wants to conduct business as usual; Bulgaria shows great interest in achieving detente with Greece and in a nuclear weapon-free zone in the Balkans. Romania's chief of state Ceausescu, striving for objectivity, is repeating his



identical admonitions to Reagan and Andropov for an end to the arms race and for arms reduction. However, we must not lose sight of the fact that in emphasizing his role as a peace maker, he seeks to distract the Romanians from the catastrophic food shortages in their country. Poland has more pressing problems internally.

#### Pragmatic Diplomacy

Among all the USSR's allies, Czechoslovakia stands out with a particularly hardline attitude. In the Prague press there are more polemics than anywhere else; in Prague itself it is said openly that the missile deployment is impairing Czechoslovakia's relations with the West, especially with the FRG, at all levels. It remains to be seen how much of this are empty words, and to what extent relations are really meant to be reduced. At the end of November, Foreign Minister Choupek visited Rome. No high Czechoslovak government official had visited there since August 1968. At the same time, leading Slovak politician Peter Colotka traveled to the FRG, primarily to visit the comrades of the German Communist Party, but he also met with Foreign Minister Genscher and German Land politicians Rau and Koschnick. The fact that relations with Bonn are not being treated lightly was proven last fall by the efforts to straighten out as many bilateral problems as possible at the diplomatic level. Also, the tenth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Bonn and Prague was to have been celebrated recently. Prague purposely let the date pass without fanfare; Premier Strougal cancelled an interview about German-Czech relations on short notice. In the Foreign Ministry at Hradcin the word was that one couldn't pretend that nothing had happened. But in the overall picture, diplomatic options remain open.

#### In Bilak's Orthodox Style

The party press describes the Czech attitude in considerably harsher terms than do government spokesmen. Quoting high-ranking orthodox politician Vasil Bilak, they keep insisting that the Pershing II is a first-strike weapon, that by deploying it the American government seeks to neutralize Soviet power bases and to destroy the communist camp as a whole. In spreading these visions of terror not only in articles, but also in cartoons, the party leadership is aided also by some thoughtless statements emanating from the United States. Using these, they are tailored to conform to their own propaganda; any statement concerning the possibility of limiting a nuclear war or the vulnerability of the USSR is presented as latent government policy. Reagan is likened to a modern Genghis Khan and his methods to those of Hitler's. When it is stated that Czechoslovakia is expressing itself much more harshly compared with all the other East bloc states and in a manner which can hardly be labeled constructive, the answer is that in this matter national interest is the only guideline.

Bilak's feeling is that a few bourgeois politicians in thrall to the United States must be prevented from achieving that which Hitler couldn't do: the defeat of the Soviet Union. The fact that such an intention is in existence he sees in Reagan's speech to the British House of Commons. The population is told that Czech "defense and security" will require considerable financial

resources; resources which are primarily needed for the country's economic development. On the other hand, there are complaints that Czech propaganda has not produced the desired results. An increased ideological offensive is needed, they continue, to prevent the peace movement in Western Europe from thinking that its struggle has been lost. Bilak's idea of support is all they need!

#### A Paucity of Arguments

However, the propaganda people in Prague find themselves short of arguments concerning the new situation vis-a-vis their own population. Last June the World Peace Conference against nuclear war took place here. The communist organizers were able to recruit many politically independent members of peace movements from the West and the Third World for the cause by stating that any further increase in nuclear arms is a threat to peace and must be fought against. Counterarming was denounced with the argument that even without it an overkill capacity was in existence in both East and West. That same argument is suitable also for use against counter-counterarming. Also, just a few hours before Moscow made the final decision about withdrawing from the Intermediate-range Nuclear Force (INF) negotiations in Geneva, the Czechoslovak parliament had loudly demanded that the United States continue those negotiations. The lack of coordination in these proceedings was remarkable.

Finally, getting away from pure rhetorics, mixed feelings have surfaced in the population concerning the prospect of the deployment of new missiles to the west of the CSSR. Until now, official spokesmen emphasize, there have been no nuclear arms on Czech territory. The installation of operational SS-21s on prepared launching ramps near the border with the FRG has spread among the population the fear that the country has now become the target of a potential attack. In that respect the official propaganda lines that first-strike weapons were being deployed in Western Europe, has had a negative backlash upon the people. The official line is that Soviet missiles are intended solely for defensive purposes; but doubts are expressed on the practicality and need for that type of defense. Official reports to the effect that the population would accept the missile installations as a necessary evil are negated by letters addressed to Western embassies as well as in many private conversations. The fact that the Czech population has fewer possibilities of practicing freedom of expression than all the other allies of the USSR is quite noticeable. On several occasions, any expression of opinions had been gagged prior to an expected decision from the Kremlin. Many Charta-77 members had been picked up by the police during the early morning hours for interrogation; less prominent ones received written notices to appear. All of them were informed that any expression of opinion by civil rights advocates against the deployment of missiles on CSSR territory would be considered tantamount to anti-government propaganda, possibly even as an attempt to impair the national defense, and would be dealt with as such. Punishment for that crime can be anywhere from one to ten years in jail.

## Misgivings, But No Organized Resistance

To date the party press has been unable to dispel widespread worry about the deployment of missiles inside Czechoslovakia. The Reformed Church too came out with a somewhat reticent statement to the effect that new missiles in Europe would lead to an increase in the danger of war. No confirmation exists to date on whether signatures were actually collected in large industrial concerns such as Prague's CKD works, demanding an end to counter-counterarming and a continuation of negotiations. At present, there is no such thing in Czechoslovakia as an organized peace movement like that in the GDR, which tries to arrive at judgments independent of those of the authorities. There are misgivings, but no structured organization. That was the objective of preventive actions such as the warnings given to the Charta movement. One government representative openly admits the reason why no protests in this matter are tolerated from the civil rights people: "In our arguments, we frequently refer to the peace movement in the West, but we cannot permit the West to make reference to our civil rights activists."

The current propaganda line of the Czech leadership is directed primarily against the United States; but there is also a subliminal attempt to provoke anti-German feelings since the missiles, which for official purposes constitute a threat against Czechoslovakia, are being stationed in the FRG. A comparison of the situation which existed in 1938 with that of 1983 does not however appear to hold water to the extent desired, even among the older generations. On the other hand, the younger generation, contrary to that of Poland, has a rather distant attitude toward the United States. The fact that an American army was forced to stop at the gates of Prague for political reasons after having liberated parts of southern Bohemia is not to be found in modern history textbooks.

9273

CSO: 2300/201

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

LENART ADDRESSES SLOVAK WRITERS--Bratislava, 19 Dec (CTK)--On Monday in Bratislava, the Committee of the Slovak Writers' Union discussed the conclusions of the ideological session of the CPSU Central Committee and of the CPCZ and CPSL Central Committee sessions on the problems of scientific-technical development as well as the tasks ensuing from them for the literary sphere. The participants in the discussion, which centered on the ideological and artistic problems of contemporary literature, included Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee. He dealt with the principal tasks of the current stage of building an advanced socialist society in the CSSR. [Text] [AU211000 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Dec 83 p 2]

CSO: 2400/161

## INADEQUATE USE OF ARBITRATION COMMISSIONS CRITICIZED

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 3 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Herbert Kapiets: "A New Law--How Does it Work; People's Chamber Members Investigate Activity of Conflict and Arbitration Commissions." For a translation of the Laws on Social Courts cited below, see JPRS 80802, 13 May 82, No 2009 of this series.]

[Text] Since January 1 of this year, the new law on social courts has been in effect. It broadens the rights and powers of the 26,700 conflict and arbitration commissions in our republic and gives them numerous opportunities to enhance their effectiveness in furthering awareness of the law. Work teams of the constitutional and legal commission of the People's Chamber, which was decisive in working out the law, during the coming weeks will study in factories, cities and communities how this law is being implemented.

### 45,000 Deliberations During the First Half of 1983

In recent days, in a commission meeting on preparation of the use of work groups, first experiences were discussed from the viewpoint of central judicial organs, the national board of the FDBG [Free German Trade Union], the national council of the National Front, as well as from the activities of Chamber members in their constituencies. Opinion was unanimous that the authority of social courts, accrued over decades, has further increased. As was reported by the representative of the justice minister, Dr. Siegfried Wittenbeck, the conflict and arbitration commissions carried out 45,000 deliberations with binding decisions in the first half of 1983. This constitutes an increase of 2,000 cases over the same time period of last year. Twenty-two percent of all criminal cases were heard by social courts.

### Prevention in Matters of Justice and Law

The greater binding nature of discussions, as provided by the law, led to solutions in many conflict and litigation cases without requiring deliberations by the commission. In many factories, towns and communities, the conflict and arbitration commissions strengthened their preventive influence on observance of the law and on legal advice. Commission chairman Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Weichelt stressed that this aspect of the activity of social

courts is just as important as the deliberations of a commission. Their activities cannot be measured solely by the number of deliberations.

Present experiences of the Chamber's members, however, show also that the possibilities for enhancing the effectiveness of social courts in teaching legal awareness are not being utilized everywhere. Especially in the case of serious infractions of municipal regulations and other violations and infringements, the guilty parties only rarely have to answer for themselves before the arbitration commission. The number of referrals by those in authority to punish (Volkspolizei) is still very low, although no one doubts the high effectiveness of teaching legal awareness through a hearing before the conflict or arbitration commission, respectively.

#### The Goal is Uniform Application of the Law

The effectiveness of a decision by a social court evaporates, however, if the recommendations passed by it are ignored by state managers in factories or councils, as does happen in individual cases. This also holds true in cases of restitution decisions or fines (whose upper limits were raised by the law), if such generous dispositions are made that the guilty party hardly feels them.

It is the concern of the Chamber's members to ensure uniform application of the law and to promote the best possible effect of the law on order, security and discipline as well as harmonious interpersonal relations.

9917

CSO: 2300/184

CONFESSIONAL DIFFERENCES IN CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS REPORTED

Zuerich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 15 Dec 83 p 4

[Article by "sk." datelined Berlin 13 Dec 83: "The Situation of the Catholic Church in the GDR: Cool Distance from the State"]

[Text] The Catholic Church in the GDR has spoken up less spectacularly than Protestant Christians in the peace discussion, which largely dominated the synod meeting of the Protestant member churches during the Martin Luther memorial year. Despite occasional criticism, mostly from the ranks of young Catholics, the church leadership has retained its balanced and basically reserved attitude toward publicity-oriented peace activities, for basic considerations concerning primarily their relationship vis-a-vis the state. In the area of ecumenical cooperation among Christians in the atheistic state of the GDR, also the Catholic Church emphasizes aspects differing from the Protestant church.

Differing View of the State

The Catholic episcopate has demonstrated its willingness for ecumenical cooperation through the participation of high church officials in the Protestant memorial celebration for Luther. The Catholic Church leadership is quite aware that the evaluation of personality and work of the reformer cannot be left solely in the hands of the Protestant church in the GDR and that talks with the Lutherans are therefore necessary. Ecumenical cooperation between the faiths is primarily concentrated in the grass roots. In many parishes in the GDR, it is not a rare event when Protestant pastors put their churches at the disposal of Catholics for church services, and vice versa. The episcopate stays reserved, however, if it is a matter of church policy at a higher level. This reserve has its roots in the differing view of the state by the two churches. While the Protestant church, which calls itself "church within socialism," despite unbridgeable differences with the Communist GDR state, seeks a dialogue with the SED leadership and demonstrates its willingness for co-responsibility in partial areas of socialist society, the Catholic Church consciously keeps its distance from the state. Since it is the nature of the totalitarian structure of the GDR Communist state to expect a high degree of consideration for its political concerns and interests, it is the opinion of the Catholic episcopate that statements by the church which touch upon political questions of the day must, in many cases, remain imbalanced and therefore onesided because of this very consideration.

But this is not the only reason why the Catholic bishops in the GDR have refrained from public declarations on questions of peace and security policy. In awareness of the limited possibilities of doing something for members of their church who have come into conflict with the state through political peace activities or conscientious objection [to military service], the Catholic episcopate avoids anything that could contribute to emotionalized attitudes in this sensitive area.

In this, the church leadership has come under great pressure. Not only because of the peace discussion in the Protestant church, but also because of developments in the Eastern neighboring country, where the Catholic church of Poland backed up the trade union movement "Solidarnosc," the episcopate has been urged--especially from the ranks of young Catholics--to shed its present reserve.

This occurred at the beginning of this year in a pastoral letter by the Catholic bishops, which also became the subject of a conversation between the chairman of the Berlin bishops' conference, Cardinal Bishop Meisner, and the East Berlin state secretary for church questions, Gysi, directly after the Luther memorial celebrations had ended. In that document, the episcopate clearly expressed the distance of the Catholic Church to the state and at the same time spelled out the points of conflict between the church and the SED regime.

#### Major Points of the Pastoral Letter

The pastoral letter stressed that peace between the nations and power blocs is not the highest goal for a Christian. Whoever, in the question of peace, closes his eyes against the reality of sin, becomes susceptible to utopian dreams. Some might not like to hear these statements, but they alone would provide a solid base to peace efforts. Peace grows out of a certain basic spiritual attitude. It appears where truth, justice, love and freedom rule.

In their pastoral letter the Catholic bishops also criticized military training in schools and emphasized the priority educational right of parents. They also demanded that objectors to military service (for reasons of conscience) should not be disadvantaged because of their conviction. However, there is no panacea for suffering in conscience.

The pastoral letter, which was never released verbatim by the GDR media, at the time became the object of sharp criticism by the SED leadership. The central SED party organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND accused the bishops of being directed by the Vatican.

The fact that the Catholic Church in the GDR continues to stand by the statements of the pastoral letter despite harsh polemics of the SED becomes clear in the conversation between Meisner and Gysi, which took place after the deployment of missiles in the FRG had begun. When Gysi pointed to the now aggravated political world situation and its causes, Meisner explained "by means of the peace pastoral of the Berlin bishops' conference of January 1983" the contribution of the Catholic Church in the GDR to the preservation of peace, according to a report disseminated by the state news agency ADN.



## No Rapprochement

The ADN report also shows that Meisner took positions on other questions of conflict between church and state--military training in schools, the educational right of parents, conscientious objection--in accordance with the positions expressed in the pastoral letter. Evidently there was no rapprochement between the opposing viewpoints. The ADN report states that in the discussion which took place "in an open and frank atmosphere," both sides had stated their willingness "to continue cooperation in clarifying open and mutually interesting questions."

For the SED, the Catholic Church in the GDR is less a problem of number of members, but rather of quality of its leadership structure. With about 1 million members, the Catholic Church in the GDR has the character of a diaspora church. As a diaspora church with a hierarchical structure, Catholics are less susceptible to penetration by socio-political ideas of the SED regime into their conception of life, as is the case in the federative structure of the Protestant church of the GDR.

This also explains the distance between the Catholic Church and the state. In contrast with the Protestant church, the Catholic episcopate makes no secret of the fact that it is not interested in a direct talk with Honecker. Retaining the status quo in its relationship with the state is explained by the Catholic Church leadership through proven effectiveness of the present practice of discussing all problems arising in the relationship between church and state with the East Berlin state secretary for church questions.

The reserve toward the state is lastly based on religious concerns. In the opinion of the apostolic administrator of the juridical district of Erfurt, Bishop Wanke, the negation of God is radical in the GDR. In the secularized world of the GDR, widely practiced materialism is a reality. For this reason, the conformism of society must be opposed by the resistance of the individual through the strength of faith. Wanke, who is counted among the leading figures of the Catholic Church in the GDR, therefore cannot accept cooperation with the state [even] in partial areas as does the Protestant church.

## Attacks by the SED

This pronounced reserve of the hierarchically structured Catholic Church with its leadership elite in the Vatican has for a long time been a thorn in the side of the SED. The displeasure of the GDR leadership with the Catholic Church is aggravated by the fact that the present Pope is a Pole, and ipso facto has contributed to emphasizing the weight of the church of the Eastern neighbor in the conflict between the Polish government and the trade union "Solidarnosc." In Wanke's opinion, this may have strengthened the sense of self-worth and self-confidence of Catholics in the unstable state structure of the GDR.

The attacks of the SED leadership therefore are primarily directed against the Pope and the Catholic bishops in the GDR. The church is trying to avoid

points of friction with the state. However, leading figures of the episcopate consider it quite possible that East Berlin will stage a renewed campaign against the Pope and the Catholic Church in the GDR.

9917

CSO: 2300/196

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### FRG COMMENTATOR CONTRASTS CHURCH, MILITARY PEACE VIEWS

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 2 Dec 83 "Politics" supplement p 11

[Article by Marlies Menge datelined East Berlin in November: "Praying Versus Missiles--GDR: Visits with a Clergyman and a Battle Group Commander"]

[Text] Manfred Semrau welcomed me in the restaurant of the International Press Center--not in the state owned Elektro-Apparatewerke [Electric Appliance Factory] where he works as a group manager in the organization and data center, nor at his battle group battalion which he commands. I had particularly wanted to speak with him because of this secondary occupation. I met Ulrike Doll immersed in her work as a pastor at church services in the venerable Teterow church; I also visited her at home.

The Mecklenburg lady clergyman and the East Berlin battalion commander most probably will never meet in person. Their lives are too different; too different are their conceptions according to which they think and act. For example, they both feel obligated to do something for peace, the one through prayer, the other with a gun, and both are convinced that his/her way is the only correct one. But both of them represent the GDR, have been molded by that country and by the people who live around them.

Although Ulrike Doll was born in the Rhineland 28 years ago, when she was still a baby her Mecklenburg father felt a strong urge to return to his old homeland. Her mother, a Catholic from the Rhineland, went along with the children, converted and became a catechist. Ulrike did not participate in the socialist youth initiation ceremony, did not attend the extended high school which leads to the Abitur, but was prepared in the Naumburg church seminary for her theological studies which she pursued and completed in Greifswald. First a vicar's position in Guestrow, then--since 1981--pastor in Teterow. This year, her name was in the GDR papers: In Vancouver she was elected to the Central Committee of the Ecumenical Council of Churches.

#### The Middle-aged Group is Missing

She appears so young that at first I take her for a girl from the parish youth group: a bit plump, short curly hair, gay blue eyes in an open, friendly face; over dark blue pants, a light blue sweater with a pin "Christians against nuclear weapons"--a child holds a dove in his hands. In the unheated church she wears a parka at the evening peace prayers.

"To create peace out of the strength of the weak" is the motto of the peace decade. As in all GDR parishes, in Teterow also one assembles during 10 November days for church services and peace prayers. On a Saturday night, for example. Ulrike Doll speaks about the Bible quotation "you are the light of the world." She says: "Perhaps you cannot imagine that, of all people, you are supposed to be the light of the world. But perhaps you entered a large room once without turning on the electric light and only held a small candle in your hand, and then you experienced how this little candle manages to light up a large room, not very bright, not every object, not every nook, but enough light to see by."

A large candle stands in the middle. Around it lie red and green ribbons which the church visitors are to tie to their clothes as a sign of solidarity with the other parishes. From the large candle small ones are to be lighted, as a light of hope. And the person lighting his candle is to tell whatever hopeful thing has happened to him in recent times. For one it is a letter he received, for another a conversation on a train with an old woman from Poland, for a third it is the good cooperation in recent times between protestant and Catholic youths. Young people read the Bible texts, say the intercessory prayers which include the government, teachers, parents. A young girl accompanies songs on her guitar; the parish, about 60 people this evening, sings the round "Lord, grant us your peace."

Ulrike Doll always strives for parish participation. During the church service of supplication, everyone receives a card with the words "Blessed are those who make peace, for they will be called God's children." These are to be sent to others, with warm greetings. During another church service, the pastor has paper cranes distributed, folded by a sick girl in the parish--a Japanese symbol of hope.

During church services and prayers, especially the young and the old attend church, the middle-aged group is missing. At home, in the pastor's warm living room, the young people complain about the generation of their parents: "Go to work in the morning, at night a beer and the TV set!" Ulrike Doll says: "When young women tell me that they cannot come to church in addition to taking care of small children, job and household, I understand it, although I think it's sad."

A large number of the young people are still pupils, but there is also a sales girl, a business clerk. Social occupations predominate: a beginning midwife, a nursery school teacher, a young girl who wants to work with handicapped children, another who works as a nurse's aide in a mental hospital. They talk about the discussions in school and at the work place on the deployment of Soviet missiles in the GDR. "You must be convincing that you are not against the others," the pastor tells the young people, "that you want to consider, together with them, how a further arms race can be avoided."

One evening we eat together. A round tablecloth is spread on the floor. We are sitting on a few chairs, on a mattress, a travel blanket; we eat what

everybody had brought: home-made pickles, potato salad, herring salad, bread, butter, ham, tins of fish, candy, chips, fruit. A brown tiled stove spreads warmth. A bookcase with books, a wooden table in front of the window, unframed landscape photographs on the wall. Candles are burning.

Next to me sits a young man, the son of a clergyman. He was only permitted to go to school through tenth grade, could not take the Abitur. He says he will be a bricklayer. He wants to do his military service in the Construction Corps. Perhaps his road was predetermined because of his father's profession. But many another youth, who could have an effortless career through involvement in the FDJ and following the party line, makes it hard on himself by professing loyalty to the church, by joining the host of those whom the church means above all when it speaks of "creating peace through the strength of the weak."

Manfred Semrau counts himself among the host of the strong. He is a manager type, quick, courteous, intelligent. His blue eyes study me in a friendly manner. With a light blue shirt and dark red, patterned tie he wears a dark blue jacket with an SED party pin: two hands united in greeting. I had expected him to be in uniform. "No," he says amusedly, "sometimes I don't wear my uniform for weeks on end. Nonetheless, I am always on duty, of course." The uniform is field gray, with an emblem on the left sleeve: a carbine held high, with a red flag attached to it. And the salute? "Hand obliquely to the cap. It is all much less formal than you think."

Battle groups were formed in the early fifties as a kind of factory security force; after the uprising in June 1953, their importance rose. In August 1961, they helped building the Berlin wall. Manfred Semrau was not part of it at that time: "I am the second generation," he says. He was born in Pomerania in 1939. In 1958 he obtained the Abitur in Halle. He involved himself early on: When he studied economics in Berlin, he was already an army reservist. At that time, it was voluntary. After that, two and a half years as FDJ secretary in his present plant. "That's where I learned how to convince," he says. "In the battle group, it is a matter of command. But to convince is also important."

#### Pacifists as Dreamers

In 1966, he became a "fighter" in the battle group; in 1970, at age 31, battalion commander. "The smallest unit is the group, they know each other from work, that is a stabilizing factor," thinks Manfred Semrau. Several groups from a platoon, several platoons a "troop of a hundred," several groups of a hundred form a battalion. Manfred Semrau is commander of a battalion. "You could have seen me at the parade on the 30th anniversary of the battle groups," he says, and there is pride in his voice. He rode, standing in an open car, in front of his battalion.

The battle groups are subordinate to the SED; training and equipment are provided by the Volkspolizei [People's Police]. Weapons: "Rifles, handguns,

artillery weapons, anti-aircraft weapons. No, [we have] no tanks. The main forces of national defense are in the army; battle groups are more restricted to the territory. For that, I need no other arms." Tasks of the battle groups: suppression of uprisings, protection of the population, support for the armed forces.

"We have no intention of confronting the FRG with military means," says Manfred Semrau, "our party has said that we will speak with anyone who wants to talk about peace with us. Also with Strauss, with Weizsaecker, with the Greens, with Helmut Schmidt. We are in favor of not having war. But if there is one, it will be waged not only with nuclear weapons. We are supposed to disarm unilaterally--but what would that do for us? First of all, they would chop down the workers' and farmers' forces! Workers have always been strong only when they were armed."

It is logical that Manfred Semrau supports strength. He must dismiss pacifists as dreamers. That is part of his political conviction. People like him give Christians in the GDR the feeling of not getting anywhere with their peace initiative. This especially is what the peace decade had to face.

People like Ulrike Doll help along so that resignation does not spread among Christians, and that the discussion between both groups follows a peaceful course. Through her membership in the Ecumenical Council of Churches, she has been to the West; in preparation for Vancouver she was in Switzerland, for example, which she did not like too much. Everything was too orderly, too affluent; she also had to deal with her own defensive attitude towards anything smacking of consumerism. In August she saw Canada. "After that it was harder to settle down again here. Experiences which others haven't shared make one lonelier. Then, suddenly, one also notices many things here which one hadn't noticed before, for instance the dirt in the Teterow store where I shop. You see--it's not the fact that it is dirty, but the thought: what is happening to people that they no longer notice it? At first, I cried a lot. Because these are my own people. Because I like them immensely."

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CSO: 2300/1888

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

STATUS REPORT ON FACILITIES FOR YOUTH TOURISM

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 134, 17 Nov 83 pp 5-6

[Unsigned Article: "Youth Tourist Facilities in the GDR"]

[Text] The mass tourist action by the FDJ, "My Homeland--GDR," found great response among the youth of our republic. During vacation and leave, they visit sites of the German and international workers' movement, get to know projects in which the FDJ cooperated, visit centers of socialist organizations, travel through the most scenic areas of our republic. A growing number of girls and boys wish to spend youth-oriented vacations with their friends. Much had been done in recent years so that they can experience eventful holidays.

From Glowe to Bad Brambach, from Eisenach to Goerlitz--there are 262 facilities for youth tourism, 9 more than 3 years ago. 1.5 million girls and boys--120,000 foreigners and 1.380,000 young GDR citizens--relaxed in these facilities during 1983. Three years ago, there were not quite 1.3 million.

As planned, our socialist state provides considerable funds for the administration, reconstruction, modernization and new construction of facilities for youth tourism. Last year alone, 255.1 million Marks were allocated and spent from the national budget for youth tourism, particularly for travel and youth hostels.

In 1983, 78 projects of remodeling, modernization and new construction were started or finished, respectively. For example, the youth hostels Chossewitz and Ruhlsdorf in the Frankfurt district, Langenwetzendorf in the Gera district, Bad Koesen and Wasserburg Heldrungen in the Halle district, and Glowe in the Rostock district were remodeled. This is also the case of the youth hostel Neudorf in Karl-Marx-Stadt district. It offers 104 beds. In the Poehl youth hostel--one can swim in the nearby dam--80 additional seasonal places were created.

Under the motto "Youth Builds for Youth," funds of the Young Socialists are systematically used for modernizing facilities for youth tourism. In 1983, conditions were improved in a total of 66 projects. At the same time, funds are increasingly made available by factories and administrative districts.

In Potsdam district, for example, in 1983 the central account of the Young Socialists financed modernization measures in the youth hostels at Lehnitz, Bork, Potsdam, Belzig, Friedrichsthal and Koethen am See.

Especially sought after are places in the two youth recuperation centers and the 15 youth tourist hotels. They also accept young married couples with children. The youth recuperation center at Lake Scharmuettel is the largest facility of its kind in the GDR. The 40 hectare terrain offers accommodations for more than 1,000 guests at a time. The young people sleep in 4-bed rooms in the two dormitories, or in bungalows. There are many possibilities for recreation during all seasons. One can rent rowboats, paddle and pedal boats, sailing dinghies, children's toys, and skates in winter. This attractive area not far from Berlin invites one to take lengthy hiking and cycling tours. An excursion to the capital is also in the offing. There are also discos, youth forums, rustic parties and cookouts, sports events, etc.

The youth recuperation center "Hanno Guenther" in Eckartsberga, Halle district, a former home for rural youth, is situated in the Finne nature preserve below the 1000-year-old castle Eckartsburg. From here, the visitor can see the battlefield of Auerstedt [Napoleonic Wars], and the battle of 1806 is depicted in the castle tower in a diorama of 6,000 miniature tin figures.

The 15 youth tourist hotels of the GDR are located in the most scenic areas of our country. To name only a few: Bad Schandau, Oberhof, Werder, Binz, Kuehlungsborn, Koblenz on Knappensee. Cities like Berlin, Naumburg and Weimar also have such a facility.

The youth tourist hotel "Karl Liebknecht" in Oberwiesenthal opened its doors in 1979. It has suitable 4-bed rooms, an "Erzgebirge" room, a modern disco, a sauna, and a physical fitness room.

The former 10,000 ton freighter MS "Dresden," now "Peace," no longer sails the oceans but is anchored in Rostock-Schmarl. In this youth tourist hotel, one sleeps in seamen's cabins. Its present crew is completely oriented towards serving the young vacationers and offers a varied program.

Construction of the latest youth tourist hotel in Magdeburg is near completion. As of July of next year, 200 accommodations will be available. In Erfurt, preliminary work on the construction of a youth tourist hotel has begun.

The 262 youth hostels and other facilities for youth tourism in our country have a daily capacity of about 20,000 beds. During the summer months, another 4,000 seasonal accommodations are available. Since 1981, reservation services are handled centrally by the FDJ travel agency "Youth Tourist." Six months before the travel date, interested girls and boys, school classes and groups can submit an application. As of the 20th of the preceding month, there is also the possibility of inquiring directly about openings in the individual youth hostels. Through central placement 317,320 more overnights could be utilized by October 1983 compared to the same period of the previous year.



Most youth tourist facilities are located in the South of the GDR. The districts of Dresden and Karl-Marx-Stadt alone have more than 70 youth hostels and two youth tourist hotels. Place names such as Altenberg, Geising, Schellerhau, Zimmuald, Rathen, Jonsdorf, Klingenberg, Sosa, Johanngeorgenstadt, Frauenstein and Geyer represent active recreation, walks through the woods, mountain tours, winter sports.

Castles and fortresses are important testimonials of the past. In some of them are youth hostels, as in the almost 1,000-year-old Castle Eisenhard in Belzig, and in Castle Rabenstein in Raben, Potsdam district. The youth hostels in Castle Hohnstein in the district of Dresden, and in Augustusburg in Karl-Marx-Stadt district, are central starting points for extensive walking tours. The old Muenchhausen castle, today's Windischleuba youth hostel, dates back to the 14th century. The cellar vault was repaired and can now be used as a clubroom. The park and the other rooms--there is, for instance, a hunting room and a Skat cardroom--offer varied types of recreation. Skat players can enjoy their hobby without interruption, and beginners can learn this card game with expert instruction--the Skat town of Altenburg is only 4 km away.

The castle of Luther's town of Wittenberg also houses a youth hostel. It was modernized this year by the district's construction firms. FDJ organizations support them actively. The number of accomodations was increased by 24.

The Ziegenrueck youth hostel in the Gera district is also situated in an old castle. It dates from the 16th century and was made even more attractive through the creation of a recreation room for 80 people.

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CSO: 2300/173

"DIALOGUE" PEACE GROUP REVIVES ACTIVITIES

Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 3 Dec 83 p 8

[Article datelined Berlin, by WS: "Dialogue to be Continued"]

[Text] The independent Hungarian peace group "Dialogue" is stirring again. In July, taz [TAGESZEITUNG] had reported the group's decision to disband after an international peace camp organized by "Dialogue" had been banned by the police (compare taz of 22/7/83). The group has now resumed activities, the latest being a letter to the Dutch parliament against "catch-up armament."

The "Peace Group for Dialogue" had been founded in Budapest in July 1982 by students, pupils and artists. During the first year of their existence, they found a remarkable response outside the capital, also. It was difficult to estimate the number of their members; information from circles close to the group gave the number as between several hundred and three thousand. In April 1983, the group held its first national conference in Visegrad. There were noticeable differences of opinion on the questions whether "Dialogue" should adopt a strong organizational structure--the question was finally decided in the affirmative--and whether the strict legalism observed as the foremost determinant for action up to then should be made more relative.

As a result, a minority led by founding member Ferenc Koeszegi, a student in his mid-twenties, withdrew from the work. In May 1983, the group appeared for the first time on its own at an (official) peace demonstration in Budapest as a solid bloc of about 500 persons.

Up to then, state authorities had more or less tolerated "Dialogue." The turnabout came in May 1983: the group had voluntarily renounced participation in the West Berlin peace conference of May 1983, with one exception (and his passport was taken away), after all official "peace councils" of the Warsaw Pact countries had polemicized against this conference. "Dialogue" did not wish to oppose the official will. Then, in June, the members of "Dialogue" were expelled from the youth village at the Prague "peace conference."

For July, the group had planned a peace camp in Debrecen, Hungary, and attendance from Western Europe was expected there. The camp was outlawed, the foreigners were expelled from the country.

In consequence, a membership meeting of "Dialogue" decided on voluntary dissolution: the strict legalism of the group had failed because of state dislike of any independent initiative. The official "peace council," until then the major cooperation partner, abstained from any opinion on the prohibition (later, its representatives stated that the peace camp had been "illegal"). The police let "Dialogue" members know that their group would no longer be tolerated.

Only one day after the dissolution decision (which had been passed by acclamation), however, many of the members met again and agreed to continue their work in one form or another. After the summer break, in September 1983, the group met again outside Budapest. Political differences grew up around the election of a speaker. Finally, Ferenc Rusza was elected (with 72 vs. 62 votes). The defeated Ferenc Koeszegi, who in principle is against public politics of the group, since then has disputed the right of the majority (because of the close vote) to appear in public under the name of "Dialogue." The majority may accept this view. Since then, the mood has been tense between the two wings, but there continue to be initiatives for cooperation between them.

At the end of September, a joint seminar took place with the official Hungarian "Peace Council," the "Intra-Church Peace Council" of the Netherlands (IKV), and representatives of "Dialogue." Originally the organizer, the Hungarian "Peace Council," had only invited Koeszegi as representative of "Dialogue," but after further negotiations other members of "Dialogue" were also admitted. Especially under discussion was disarmament strategy: whether unilateral disarmament was also to be demanded of the USSR, and how deployment in Europe can be stopped. The final declaration of the official Hungarian Peace Council also states that the Peace Council "welcomes spontaneous peace groups as a sign of increasing concern for peace among the Hungarian people." With this, the existence of "Dialogue" was indirectly acknowledged.

On October 29, simultaneously with a peace demonstration in the Hague in which more than half a million people participated, hundreds of "Dialogue" followers delivered flowers to the Dutch embassy in Budapest as a sign of solidarity with the Dutch peace movement. They also carried out a symbolic act at Liberation Square in Budapest in which soldiers were buried. The police did not interfere.

We last heard about "Dialogue" through a message which the group sent to the Dutch parliament last week. A further statement by the group, issued on the occasion of a meeting with SPD parliamentarian Weisskirchen, says: "Now that the negotiations (in Geneva) were broken off, the peoples of the world must stand together against the militarists of the world."

ACZEL DISCUSSES CULTURAL, POLITICAL SITUATION

Lisbon DIARIO DE LISBOA in Portuguese 28 Nov. 83 pp 14, 15

[Interview with Gyorgy Aczel, deputy premier, Politburo member, by Eugenio Alves in Budapest; date not given]

[Text] From the window of his huge office in the "White House" in Budapest (this is also the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Worker Party in the city) one can see flow a Danube which is still blue. The room is big and the walls are completely covered with bookcases that are carefully stocked. When, at the age of only 18 in 1935, he joined the Communist Party, Gyorgy Aczel was a simple civil construction worker. During the 10 years of tough underground existence prior to victory over nazism, he came to know the best Hungarian poets and intellectuals from close up. Between 1949 and 1945 [as published] he was arbitrarily put in prison because he did not share the methods and concepts either of the "Stalinists" or of the right-wing opportunists led by Nagy. This was a difficult period but it was rich in reflections and tremendous reading. Today he is a member of the Political Commission of the PSOW [Hungarian Socialist Worker Party] and he is vice premier for the fields of culture, ideology, information, and youth. Some of his speeches in these fields have already been published in France and Italy.

We talked for more than 2 hours. We discussed the crisis of 1956, the Hungarian agricultural miracle, the much-proclaimed "rebirth" of private initiative in industry and commerce, the prospects of socialism, the personality cult, Poland, and many other things. Or, more precisely, Aczel spoke since the journalist above all listened (with sincere pleasure, it must be admitted) to a rare political leader who in particular exudes great simplicity, intelligence, and culture.

Success in Agriculture

The in-depth development, at the beginning of this year, of the experience of returning small commercial and industrial enterprises to private control was much talked about in the Western media. Some organs even interpreted this

solution as a pure and simple return to the free-enterprise economy. Even in the East there are still some doubts about this. (62-111)

During the first year of this endeavor, 10,000 small units, totalling more than 60,000 workers, were created.

Aczel began by recalling the experience of the individual farm plots which were ceded by the big cooperatives and which currently supply 36 percent of the agricultural output. "This was a success," he says, "those small farms produce vegetables, fruits, hogs, rabbits, poultry, etc., which decisively contribute to the population's supply."

"However," he explains, "we must not forget that those plots are intimately tied to the big cooperatives or the state farms. It is they who cede the land, produce the necessary forage, supply the seeds, and the selected plants and the little chicks, suckling pigs, and other animals for small-scale animal fattening operations, as well as the pertinent artificial fodder. And they also provide support through the machinery pool and chemical products and they play a fundamental role in the sale of the various products on steady and profitable terms, regardless of whether the harvests and the output turns out to be greater or lesser. Now this guarantees--as we must not forget--the viability of these small domestic farms."

He recalled that there were 3.6 million farm workers in 1938 and they were employed by the big estates as well as the small, poor farm owners. The war made their difficulties only worse and the agrarian reform proposed by Rakosi, the leader of the radical group that dominated the CC, was not a good thing. "Propitious economic-social conditions had not been created. The new owners were not yet persuaded as to the advantages of collective ownership. That took patience and it took a more convincing information effort without forcing the situation too much. This is why many cooperative farmers began to drift away with the passage of time," Aczel told me, noting the subsequent corrections, starting with "formulas and experiences encountered within the cooperatives themselves."

On the small plots, supplementary work normally does not exceed 2.5 hours. It is freely chosen and therefore an average of 6 hours of daily work is sufficient for the great majority (with Saturday and Sunday off). Aczel emphasized that this extra work "corresponds to an expression of personality which must not be overlooked. There are even intellectuals who have their own domestic plots. For them, the vegetable patch or the orchard signify a kind of rest, a kind of active distraction and even a sport."

This brings us to a rather odd situation: About half of the Hungarian families own weekend land, rent plots of land, and participate in farm production, whereas only one-fifth of the population is engaged in agriculture as primary occupation. Aczel then gave me a single statistic: Every Sunday, 17 percent of the leaders, 12 percent of the intellectuals, 29 percent of the service employees, 27 percent of the skilled workers, 46 percent of the remaining workers, and 47 percent of the civil construction workers go to their little gardens or work in the vegetable fields and orchards.

"A worker policy which harms the interests of the peasantry for the intellectuals is a bad policy. It is contrary to the interests of the working class itself. Who would be helped by a poor supply of basic products, such as food?" he adds in justifying the origin of the Hungarian agrarian reform.

### "Honest Principle"

Getting back to the issue of a return to private control in the commercial and industrial areas, he began by mentioning the existence of 90,000 small crafts or industrial establishments and 11,000 retail stores. These are numbers which will tend to grow. "Among our well-intentioned critics," he admits, "there are those who harbor suspicions about socialism. But there is no reason for such suspicions. By 1985 we will be leasing to citizens--individually and without giving them property title--4,000 small stores or state establishments. These are outfits that show a deficit, that are too small and that are therefore difficult to manage. The concession is made in a democratic manner, by competition, in the presence of a notary. The equipment remains the property of the state. Thanks to this, we think, services and supplies will be substantially improved."

Are there any problems involving profits and the appearance of social groups with excessive earnings? Aczel replies calmly: "Our code of ethics allows and prescribes that he who works more must make more. This is a recipe or, better yet, an honest principle which results from work. What our society condemns and combats morally is wealth obtained in another way, through speculation, fraud, and trafficking."

I pressed the issue: Might not these units be able to play a contradictory role that would cause the socialist mechanisms to be dissolved? Aczel used this opportunity to tell the story of the pastry shop on the street behind the Central Committee building, where he often goes for coffee and delicious cakes. This is a typical family operation where working hours do not matter but where the quality of service is beyond reproach. He believes that family work entails some obvious material advantages, it is freely accepted and, if there are members who prefer to work on another job, that is natural. "There are those who are content with their wages and who want to use their spare time in a different way. This is quite lawful. In my opinion, this private sector we are talking about is not a body that is alien to socialism. The excessive nationalization of small stores, cafes, pastry shops, and even barber shops, was a mistake. Now we are getting more profitable management but it is also more flexible and more in line with the interests of the citizens. Now this pattern does not in any way alter the mechanisms and the operating framework of the big national enterprises."

### "Red Bourgeoisie?"

The week I spent between Budapest, Lake Balaton, "the bend" of the Danube (a fascinating region along the Czech border), the movies, dancing, the little "Paris-style" esplanades, a few trips to cheerful bars and much conversation (about us, the Portuguese, about the West, about the socialist countries) was not sufficient to understand the entire Hungarian reality but did enable

me to see that people live calmly, that they do not waste time "standing in line," and that they respect their leaders.

In the West there is much talk about the existence of certain social "castes" in the socialist countries. "Red bourgeoisie" is, by the way, an expression used in relation to the leadership cadres of these countries and it is supposed to signify special privileges, big incomes, etc. The question does not surprise the experienced official in charge of culture and information in the government and the Central Committee.

He pointed out first of all that the top salary level is not held by the leaders, whose family incomes do not exceed more than 35 percent of that of an ordinary worker family. "A minister," he continues, "does not make more than a highly skilled miner and sociological statistics prove that the standard of living and the earnings of leaders are equivalent to those of the average of the intellectuals. In spite of all of the alleged privileges, they do not reach the levels of certain scientists, engineers, doctors, artists, or even small manufacturers and farmers. And I think that it is logical that, most times, the leaders should not enjoy the living standard that they could enjoy if they worked in their original occupation.

#### Importance of Reality

He tells me that the official Mercedes cars were exchanged for Ladas (Soviet Fiat cars) which are cheaper and that 75 percent of the top jobs are held by descendants of the families of manual laborers. A regulation issued in 1956 even prohibits more than one member of a family being in the government, in the Central Committee and, for an even greater reason, on the Political Commission. There are likewise no special stores or schools for leaders. The "only" privilege admitted by Aczel is the possibility of treatment in the hospital used by foreign diplomats and old resistance fighters.

Lenin said that "reality is more ingenious than the most subtle of theories." Aczel quoted him to note that, if Hungary is "a balanced country which progresses in spite of difficulties, this is due to the way its leaders managed to handle the issues raised by reality."

"Without losing sight of our objectives, we seek different variants and different ways to attain the goal. This goal is socialism. And socialism, even the poorest, in addition to distributing what it has in a more humane manner than any other social system, is not confined to satisfying demands and necessities. It constantly triggers others. When a revolution wins, the new leading strata sometimes inherit the bad habits of those who came before them. Our society is built by fallible men who are more capable and stronger and they seek to respect and develop that which is good in man," Aczel added before directly tackling the question: What is socialism's future?

He noted the fact that his country did not enjoy the typical capitalist accumulation of the industrialized countries that had colonies. Hungary therefore had to catch up considerably under difficult circumstances. He mentioned the case of the Soviet revolution and with irony commented on Western

predictions (Churchill, Clemenceau, etc.) that it would decline and become extinct quickly. This leads to the image of the "proud owners of ocean-going sailing vessels who with disdain looked down upon the first steamboats which looked like floating cooking pots."

"To tell the truth," Aczel continued with irony, "those 'pots' were awkward and noisy. But they did represent the future. Let us not forget that steam, by itself, does not enable us to go any faster because many things depend on the quality of coal, the technology, the job knowledge of the engineer and the captain. What good would a machine be if the mechanic does not read the instruments properly or heats the boiler up too much? At that time, job knowledge was still insufficient and the better sailing vessels sometimes still beat the steamers. Still, the future, as we know now--certainly belonged to the steamers."

### Uniformity Is Paralyzing

Secure as to socialism's future, Aczel however does not view it in a straight-line or uniform manner. He cites the different examples of socialist revolution in Mongolia, in Central Europe, in Vietnam, in China, in Cuba, and in the countries of the Third World to conclude that these roads will continue to be more and more diversified.

The old question of the "Soviet model" exists--he says--only in Western minds. "Diversity," he emphasizes, "presupposes unity. Uniformity is drab and paralyzing and it produces only transitory and formal unity. The mechanical imitation of one socialist country by another has led and can lead to serious mistakes. Nobody accuses the capitalist system because it had different forms of exploitation in France, in Singapore, or in Paraguay."

He feels however that the big issue is "to know what socialism will be when it triumphs in a number of advanced capitalist countries. In those countries, many important questions, which the socialist countries had to deal with from the beginning, will not arise, as in the case of industrialization."

He recalled that the most advanced capitalist countries "created and continue to create enormous accumulation funds through colonial and neocolonial exploitation whose inhuman price was and is the misery and underdevelopment of the old colonies."

### 1956: Sectarianism and Dogmatism

Aczel talked about the 1956 crisis in Hungary with sufficient and clear knowledge of the matter. Like Janos Kadar, the current secretary-general of PSOH, he himself suffered the consequences of serious errors in prison. There was industrialization at any cost which tried to turn Hungary into a country "of iron and steel"; there was radical and forced collectivization in agriculture; there was excessive nationalization of small-scale commerce and industry, further aggravated by imperialist encirclement (radio broadcasts, underground newspapers, financial support for domestic and foreign antisocialist movements).



In this context there was increasing "sectarian suspicion, discredit of those who professed ideas different from the official theses and the dogmatic obligation to copy the Soviet example in all areas." All of this--the old leader recalls--was aggravated by the "persistence of methods and habits of underground operations, by excessive distrust, leading to the sectarian breakup of internal party democracy."

Prison sentences, executions, exile, Soviet intervention (requested by the Central Committee, including Nagy, when the domestic and foreign strength of the counterrevolution became obvious)--all of this is generally known. The current Hungarian leaders did not even impede the debate and clarification on these first tragic years of socialist Hungary. The topic continues to be fruitful in fiction, in essays, and even in the movies ("Daniel Takes the Train" by Sandor got favorable reviews at Cannes as a courageous and beautiful film on the Hungarian crisis).

Says Aczel: "I have many discussions with writers and other intellectuals and I reprove them for writing more about the 4 years of the personality cult than about the terror and the atrocities of the fascist regime of Horthy. I discuss but basically I do not understand them. The unlawful aspects of those 4 years caused a heavy impact on the conscience of an entire people because it was a situation that was absolutely alien to the nature of socialism."

Poland: "Leadership Errors"

The Polish question naturally preoccupies the leaders of the other socialist countries. Aczel believes that critical situations can arise in any of these countries and for different reasons. In the Hungarian, Czech, and Polish crises he however observes a common denominator: A "bad policy on the part of the leaders."

He emphasizes that only a "clear and firm program will meet with the understanding of the masses" to accentuate the fact that it will be up to the Polish communist leaders "to learn the proper lessons from the crisis." However he observes that there are conclusions of a general nature to be drawn especially regarding the errors accumulated over many years in economic policy. "You cannot have a developed socialist system," he says, "without an equally developed agricultural sector."

Lack of realism in industrial investment and subjectivism in management are other faults which the Hungarian leader points up in connection with the Polish issue. "We look at the Polish events in the light of our own experience of 1956. The first cause of the Hungarian counterrevolution was the mistaken policy pursued by the leadership. It turned out in Hungary that the mistakes did not spring from the socialist system but from its distortion, from its adulteration, and that it was possible to undertake socialist construction, approved and defended by the entire people, with a new leadership, a new program, a new work style, and a good alliance policy. The party and its leadership role are of fundamental importance. In Poland, the system worked badly and that explains the current crisis of confidence."

What about the role of Solidarity? Aczel replies with the following question: "What should we think of an organization which says it is a labor union organization, which demands control over everything without accepting any responsibility and which goes so far as to draft a so-called labor union resolution which not once mentions the words 'production' and 'work?'"

But he adds that the "desire for renewal in Poland is just and reasonable and that it is obvious to demand, in the future of socialism, the participation of the millions of workers who support Solidarity."

In this connection he quoted Anatole France: "The Dear Lord is facing a difficult situation; He must attain His objectives with mere men." Now, Aczel recalls, "Socialism must face exactly the same difficulties."

### "Culture Is not a Commodity"

Cultural life in Hungary is intensive. Any foreigner, even just passing through, cannot fail to be impressed with the theaters, the concert halls, the movie houses, and the art galleries, normally full of attentive and interested people. The bookstores easily run out of the editions of domestic or foreign authors. Aczel talks about the recent visit of Mitterrand and his promise (yet to be kept) of the immediate publication of at least 15 Hungarian works in France.

"However," the Hungarian leader laments, "any tourist who passes through our bookstores will have no difficulties in finding the most outstanding names in French literature, such as Gide, Camus, Maurois, Sartre, Malraux, Proust, Mauriac, Robbe-Grillet Aragon, Eluard, Guillaud, and others published in Hungary."

From this he immediately arrives at the logical conclusion that "if we publish authors as varied as these--many of whom are quite removed from our values and our concept of the world--that only demonstrates that our authors are not tied to any models. Our poets, essayists, and writers are characterized by great diversity of form and topic."

He gave an example which is particularly contrasting for us Portuguese. In Hungary, a country with 10 million inhabitants, they are publishing a literary weekly with a circulation of more than 130,000 copies, which is widely accepted in worker circles.

And he does not hesitate to quote the statement by the novelist and poet Robert Graves who confessed his profound admiration for Hungary, "a country where there seems to be the largest number of poets per square kilometer."

Constant discussion, lively debate, and polemics in newspapers and on television are also mentioned by Aczel to emphasize that "the Hungarian cultural atmosphere has nothing lukewarm about it" and to criticize the fact that, for example, in France, they publish only one or the other author who distinguishes himself by his attacks on the socialist regime and not the creators who are really capable, who have talent, and who are popular in Hungary.

He talked about the example of Tibor Dery, one of the most popular Hungarian writers who, in 1956, was sentenced, not for his works, but for his political actions. At that time there was talk in the West to the effect that he was a candidate for the Nobel Prize. When he was amnestied, he was invited to go to Vienna to talk about his work; scores of journalists received him, not as a writer, but as a very famous actor. When they realized that Dery would not attack socialist values but rather praised them, they confessed that they were disappointed. And that was the end of invitations to receptions and nominations for the Nobel Prize.

Here is Aczel's comment on that story: "We do not consider art and culture to be commodities. We do not view them in financial terms, nor are they determined by the whims of the market or of political interest."

He talked about the interest in and disclosure of the great Greek and Latin classical authors in Hungary and he praised the importance of Shakespeare in European and world culture to conclude that cultural values in Hungary "are not the privileges of small or marginal groups."

#### Defeating Fear

The conversation had been going on for quite some time and I confess that I had to summarize some of the long responses or quotations given by Aczel as I saw fit. I did not record others because there was not enough space. But I cannot fail to note his reference (concerning the long and painful mountain --as Lenin said--which one must climb on the way to socialism) to the words of Bertrand Russell when he was already 90 years old: "Those who are capable of interesting themselves in life in an impersonal fashion are those who are better prepared to overcome the fear of death. They are not afraid of it because it is important to them and it perpetuates itself."

Or, in other words, as stated by the great Hungarian poet Attila Jozsef, whom Aczel holds in high esteem, in his poem "I Meet My Homeland At Last." Here are the last verses: "The spring is beautiful / Beautiful is the summer / More than the autumn and even more than the winter / For him who only hopes for home and family for others / Not for himself."

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## JARUZELSKI OUTLINES CAUSES, RESULTS OF CRISIS

Warsaw DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS in English No 11, 1983 pp 49-57

[Article by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PUWP CC, chairman of the Council of Ministers, general of the army, published in PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, No 11/83: "The Significance of Polish Experience"]

[Text] We have entered the fourth decade of People's Poland. It is a period of crucial importance for our nation. But 40 years in the history of our 1,000 year-old statehood is a very short period. 40 years in the 100 year-old history of the Polish organized worker movement is almost half of it. In the passing four decades, the years 1980-83 are just an episode. But the importance of this episode stems both from its unusual and utterly dramatic complexity and from the fact that it makes up contemporaneity, which for understandable reasons is perceived most directly. But not only. For the first time in the history of our party an extraordinary congress was convened in July 1981. A comprehensive Marxist analysis of this period will with time become a key to a scientific assessment of both the 9th Congress and the attack of counter-revolutionary forces on the socialist state, as well as martial law declared on December 13, 1981, its character and course, and finally the prerequisites of its lifting on July 22, 1983.

The severe political and socio-economic crisis occurred in Poland at the end of the 1970s in effect of failure to overcome in time the contradictions of socialist development. The 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PUWP assessed with full openness, criticism, and self-criticism the errors made in the past period. It showed that the source of the crisis situation were first of all serious deviations from the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the process of building socialism. It concerned in particular the violation of Leninist norms of intra-party life, the bureaucratic-autocratic limitation of socialist people's rule, simplifications and negligence in ideological-educational work in the society, arbitrary undertakings in the economic policy, and particularly the over-expansion of the investment front and considerable dependence of our economy on capitalist credits. The errors were used by the opponents of our system for an all-out attack on the party and socialism.

The situation which emerged cannot be considered in separation from the process of international class struggle. Socialist Poland has always been occupying an important place in the concepts of anti-communist strategy of the West, while for a number of years it has become an object of particular interest--all kinds of penetration and ideological-propaganda pressure. It strengthened the position of opponents of socialism in the country, where growing social rancour created a fertile ground for their activity. It played an important role in the fast penetration of anti-socialist forces into the strike and post-strike movement so as to steer the dissatisfaction of the working people in a direction contradictory with their genuine interests.

The analysis of the development of the situation in Poland proves a close and coordinated cooperation between internal and external opponents of socialism. Their attack aimed firstly--at repudiating Marxism-Leninism, presenting it in categories of "extraneousness and inadequacy" to Polish conditions and mentality; secondly--it undermined the leading role of the party; thirdly--it slandered and questioned our alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; and finally fourthly--through destructive activity in the economic sphere it aimed at discrediting national ownership of the means of production, at showing the ineffectiveness of the socialist economy, its inability to satisfy the material needs of the working people.

In the calculations of the opponent, the period between August and July was to be used for sowing anarchy in the country, for winning and disseminating own and destructive influences in the society. At the same time it was calculated to disintegrate the state, and particularly the party under the influence of decentralizing and in fact liquidatory tendencies coming to the fore. The first part of the programme has unfortunately been carried out to a considerable extent. It involved many reasons, where not without importance was the preoccupation of the party and its energy with internal matters, which alongside a justified sharp criticism included unjustified accusations and feverish "self-flagellation." None the less, the second part of the counter-revolutionary plan suffered a defeat due to internal animation, first of all owing to the 9th Congress. The basic links of the people's state remained faithful to the cause of socialism. The party, in spite of the attack of anti-socialist forces and the activation of the rightist-opportunist trend, in spite of a break-down of social confidence in it, that is in spite of painful political losses, frustration and weakening, did not disintegrate but began to crystalize more clearly its face and bank on the adherence to ideology and resistance of its activists. Disassociating itself from the errors condemned by the working class and putting forth the idea of socialist renewal, it preserved its identity of a Leninist type party, and created by way of internal revaluations major prerequisites of reconstructing its leading role.

The 9th Congress called into being a Central Committee with a strong worker core. It worked out a line of democratic reforms and broad national agreement on the basis of constitutional principles. It formulated a

realistic programme of overcoming the crisis. The programme began to win ever broader understanding and social support. Therefore it turned out to be the object of an extremely severe attack of the opponents of socialism. The national economy and enterprises became the major arena of struggle, which caused the dying off of production processes in a growing scope. The material foundations of national existence were threatened. The attitude of the society, and first of all of the working class, was to determine the course of the forthcoming stage, its political and social costs.

The reaction to the declaration of martial law and next the scope of economic and socio-political normalization in course of the 19 months it remained in force proved that the working people did not go blind or deaf under the influence of the perfidious manipulation of the opponent, that a considerable part of them was capable of noticing its covert anti-worker and anti-national aims. As a result, in spite of all moral dilemmas and unceasing psychological-propaganda pressure of Western anti-communist quarters, in spite of the painful material difficulties of everyday life, the society managed to embark on the road of reason, search for agreement, and leading the country out of the crisis. This choice made at a dramatic moment by the majority of the working people constitutes the basic and most far-reaching victory of the line of the 9th Party Congress. It is called the line of agreement and struggle. It was developed and substantiated at successive meetings of the Central Committee. It constitutes the foundation of the practical undertakings of the party, and an ideological-organizational platform of consolidation of its ranks.

We are not beginning anything in Poland from scratch, neither as a nation nor as a party. The 40 years of people's rule have thoroughly changed the country and the society. They have led the country out of economic and civilizational backwater, raised it from war devastation and ruin, given it--for the first time in centuries--secure frontiers and durable alliances, including the most valuable one with the Soviet Union, as well as a worthy place in the family of socialist countries and among the nations of the world. The Polish society is made up in majority of people born, educated and formed in the realities of socialism, with no worry for work, in the sense of social security, with attachment to such socialist values as social justice, social ownership of the means of production, and social control over the distribution of goods, universal access to education and culture. Throughout the 40 years the party has gained abundant experience and drawn many useful conclusions from both successes and defeats. When today we are putting forward the postulate of returning to the source, it contains hopes connected with universal values: the Marxist ideology, the Leninist teachings on the party, and the one hundred years of achievements of the thought and the struggle of the Polish worker movement. In these achievements particularly fruitful for today is the experience of the party from the first years following liberation, the Polish Workers' Party concepts of building a broad front of patriotic forces.

It is not by chance that one of the major targets of attack of the opponent were the achievements of People's Poland. Using first of all the inexperience of the young generation, whose memory does not reach far in the past,

the anti-socialist propaganda tried to make repugnant or at least disparage everything the nation achieved during the 40 years. It was an exceptionally cynical attempt at discrediting the significant material, social and moral achievements of socialism in Poland. In milieus where the attempt succeeded, it causes spiritual traumas, which we will have to heal for a long time.

Nevertheless, in spite of many efforts, in spite of the investment of large material and technical means, in spite of the support of subversive propaganda quarters unparalleled in scale and aggressiveness, the opponent did not manage to direct the dissatisfaction of the working class onto the track of struggle against the socialist system. None of the fundamental principles of socialism were attacked or even questioned by the working class. Despondency, which was broadly present in society, concerned something else. The character of Polish experience, the recurrence of violent crises in course of building socialism aroused and still continue to arouse doubts whether the whole to-date path is not tainted with some kind of error. The opponent tried to use such moods, which were not free of what Marx called "false consciousness", that is of anarcho-syndicalist economic illusions, of orientations to elements of the free play of political forces, etc., as a motor pushing the society towards anti-communism with a strong anti-Soviet component. In line with those aims, the so-called self-governing Polish republic was advertised as a state "more socialist" than ours which protects the social ownership of the means of production, the leading role of the party, the alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union, and the system in order to lead the working class to struggle against socialism under demagogic slogans.

It should be added that this great political swindle was made easier to the opponent by some objective phenomena. Under a general high level of professional qualifications, a certain part of the Polish working class, descending in the first generation from non-proletarian milieus, did not consolidate as yet a deeper class consciousness. The emotional reactions of some factions of the Polish society carry still a considerable number of ideological relics, nationalism, parochialism, fighting clericalism. The general state of credible historical, economic, and legal knowledge is still unsatisfactory. The years of the past decade which passed under the influence of a thesis on the so-called moral-political unity of the nation--false in conditions of a basic social stratification--dulled the sharpness of class vision of the reality and minimized the threat. Negligence in the sphere of work with youth also became tangible. All those factors, as well as ideological instability in the party, opportunism, and languidness, and as a result inability to take over in time political leadership of the movement of masses, caused that the anti-socialist forces in the country linked with imperialist quarters in the West managed to transform Solidarity, which for the honest majority of its members was to be an authentic trade union movement, into a political movement of an objectively counter-revolutionary character and anti-worker in its real effects.

This course of events, outlined here in a short and simplified way, raises basic conclusions as to the formula of agreement, struggle and

socialist reforms, and in particular as to joining in practice socialist construction, its universal principles and particular traits. The example of Poland shows, unfortunately not for the first time, how high a price is paid for deviations from universal principles, from the rich and positive experience of real socialism. It also shows that one of the deviations with painful consequences is the incompetent application of these principles in concrete conditions of a society building socialism. The principles of socialism are not divided into two "kinds": universal and national. All of them are universal, but they can be effectively implemented only under the thorough assessment and correct consideration of realities shaped historically and contemporarily in a given country. This was undoubtedly what Lenin had in mind when in his fundamental work "The State and Revolution" he wrote both about "the great abundance and variety of forms" of the transition from capitalism to socialism, and that "the heart of the matter will inevitably be the same".

Nobody emphasized more clearly and strongly than Lenin that no communist party not even the working class of any country could build the socialist system on its own, that the chance of socialism depended always and everywhere on the fact how the party could win the confidence and win over for its programme, for the class historical interest of the working class, broad circles of the working people and society where it operates. It follows from this fundamental provision that the social agreement which the PUWP included in its programme at the 9th Congress is not a tactical measure but a strategic concept of a univocally class character. In accordance with Leninist teachings, its foundation are the close and sincere ties of the party with the working class. Then, other social forces, and first of all other classes, strata and groups of working people can rally around the working class which properly understands its historical responsibility and role. In this way social agreement becomes a broad alliance of various pro-socialist forces, which preserves the hegemony of the working class and the leading role of the party, whereas the well understood national interest couples with socialist construction and the natural aspirations to civil liberties and an efficient state with the development of socialist democracy.

In Polish conditions, shaped in the historical process of development of the nation and its statehood, it is indispensable to include in the agreement differences in outlooks existing in reality with Catholic motivations dominating among the considerable part of the society. Stemming thereof is both the great importance and complexity of the relations between the socialist State and the Church. The principles of these relations are determined by the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, which settles the separation of the Church from the State and at the same time guarantees the freedom of religious practice and services to citizens. It is the duty of the party to increase the influence of Marxist materialism in major spheres of the nation's spiritual life. But the most important task is to create all social, political and institutional conditions indispensable for active participation of the believers in socialist construction, in the functioning of all links of socialist democracy, in consolidating our Homeland--the Polish People's Republic.



Martial law, which checked the procession of counterrevolution, was declared in December 1981 in accordance with the always topical Leninist call for readiness to defend socialism. Martial law, declared in line with the binding law by the legal organs of the authority, was in fact a form of defending the most vital interests of the working class and the entire nation. Neither the unavoidable shock caused by the introduction of martial law rigours, nor gradual normalization achieved under their protection, nor their lifting when the political and economic situation allowed, put a halt to the political and all the more the ideological struggle.

Undoubtedly, the past months have calmed social moods and allowed collective reason to get the upper hand of unstable collective emotions, the arrangement of forces has moved and is still moving in favour of socialism. An ever more significant part of society is shaking out of demagogic fumes, anti-socialist slogans and influences, and even if it does not fully identify with the ideological contents of the party programme, it more broadly recognizes the party's political line as correct.

The opponent, however, has made too many calculations and employed too much means to easily lay down arms. It is true that amnesty which followed the lifting of martial law is making people break off with the underground and return to normal professional and civic life. But there are still no grounds today to state that it is a process which is demobilizing the whole underground and forces which solidarize with it, all the more so that inside this unfortunate circle there is moral pressure, particularly coming from abroad, to refrain from coming out of hiding and to wait for "favourable circumstances." A psychological war, unparalleled in its aggressiveness, launched against Poland by imperialism headed by the American administration, is underway and is not becoming weaker; poisoned seeds are bearing fruit in some communities--which even though are becoming fewer are still existing--in the form of attitudes of sterile opposition, "internal emigration", apathy and marasmus.

We are forbearing and patient towards human exasperation, dilemmas and doubts. However, all manifestations of anti-state activity are and will be fought against with full consistency. There can be no illusions or doubts concerning this matter in the country or abroad. At the same time struggle in the sphere of ideology preserves its topical character. Anarcho-syndicalist moods, claim-oriented adventurism, which put individual and group interests above common good, differentiated and antagonized internally the working class and the working people, have left a definite trace. Contemporary reformism, which does not question the openness of socialism but attempts to give the transformations of its economic and political system a shape and direction which would in practice deprive it of its class essence, may influence less mature individuals and social groups. The outlook pluralism, which exists in Poland in reality, may fuel the launching of quite a different political pluralism typical of bourgeois democracies. Therefore struggle against all kinds of bourgeois-reformist and adventurist neo-Trotskyist tendencies remains for long a crucial ideological task of the party. It requires further deepening of its cohesion and militancy, ideological rearmament of its ranks, expansion of its theoretical base. At

the same time it requires firm counteraction of the recurrence of dangerous ills, compromised and crisis-breeding methods of management, as well as improvement of the style of party activity so that the working people would fully feel that it is sincerely close to them and they vitally need it, so that--as we have said at the 7th Plenum of the Central Committee--it would really be "the same but not alike." In the light of bitter past experience, we must treat this task with all seriousness.

Progress in the implementation of the line of agreement and struggle depends to a large extent on the consistency in carrying out reforms in the political and economic system, which were mapped out by the 9th Congress and adopted by the Sejm. They aim at increasing the participation of the working people in ruling the state and increasing the direct influence of crews on the national economy, in line with the general rules of socialism. It is enhanced by the consolidation of the institution of people's rule--the Sejm, people's councils, local self-governments, various forms of organization of the working people, and particularly trade unions and employee self-government, development of the openness of public life, social consultation and control, determination and observance of a rational personnel policy, deepening of the socialist rule of law in all fields.

The vision of national life shaped in this way holds a strong state ruled by law with developed social democracy, efficient and well-functioning economy with vast rights for workers, the leading role of the party with a partner-like and sincere attitude towards its politically allied forces. This vision underlay the developing Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. The movement, open to all citizens who--irrespective of their outlooks or ethical motivations--recognize the systemic realities of People's Poland and wish to serve it, may be an extremely important lever in overcoming the socio-political and economic crisis, reconstructing Poland's due place in the socialist community and in the contemporary world.

Poland is only one of the links in the socialist system and its experience can be considered only in this aspect. However, the experience confirms some general regularities. First of all the one, which says that the global struggle between imperialism and socialism finds its reflection in all countries and in each one separately. At a certain stage of this struggle, Poland, in effect of an entanglement of various circumstances, became a weakened link and found itself on the frontline. Imperialism unmasked itself and showed its true face with exceptional brutality with regard to our country. The same face which it is showing every day to the nations of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East. Impudent interference in the internal affairs of independent states, disregard of the fates of human societies, attempt at changing the course of history at all cost, and if it fails like in Poland, the application of a political boycott, economic weapons and propaganda aggression.

Our experience confirms a many time proven thesis that the building of real socialism is not a simple summing up of its systemic and economic elements,

but is a complicated class process not free of slips and hindrances. It also confirms with all strength the historically justified truth that the leading force of this process can only be a communist party, consistent in observing the principles of scientific socialism, resistant to both a revisionist and dogmatic demagogy, capable of overcoming emerging contradictions in a creative way and on time. It is after all Marxism which shows that contradictions inevitably accompany development, which is nothing else but the overcoming of contradictions. Only contradictions left to themselves, arbitrarily unnoticed or demagogically sharpened, breed social crises. On the path from capitalism to socialism there occur contradictions which have their source in the old formation but there also occur new ones--for instance between the development of production forces and the state of organization of work, between the state of consciousness and the methods of management, between the immediate and long-term interest of the working class, between the interests of particular classes, social strata and groups, etc. It is a task of the Marxist-Leninist party not only to constantly analyze these contradictions and eliminate them before they breed a crisis but also to use their motive forces. The PUWP is trying to draw such conclusions from its experience, being fully aware of how extremely difficult it is as it is done not in laboratory conditions but in living and currently still sore social tissue of socialism. In spite of these difficulties, a gradual and systematic progress is made in all fields of the life of the party and the country.

The world socialist system has manifested its internationalistic attitude towards Poland during the past years which were extremely difficult for us. We are sincerely grateful to the CPSU and other fraternal parties for support on the international forum and also equally for what is exceptionally valuable to communists--for confidence in us, in the path we are following. The PUWP is aware that its internationalistic duty towards world socialism, towards all progressive forces is to lead Poland as fast as possible out of the socio-economic crisis and Poland's further, durable socialist development. It means still another frustration of imperialists calculations for the "collapse of socialism" at least in one country, it means a consolidation of the positions of socialism in the global arrangement of class forces, which has a great impact not only on the dissemination of the ideas of Marx and Lenin but also on averting the threat of nuclear war and on preserving the human species on Earth.

The Polish communist movement many a time in its heroic and stormy history gave testimony of faithfulness to patriotic and internationalistic obligations both towards its own working class and its own nation and towards the international worker movement and progressive forces in the world. This heritage is the source of strength, the pride, and the obligation of the Polish United Workers' Party.

(TRYBUNA LUDU No. 240, October 10, 1983)

CSO: 2020/45

CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIALISM DEBATED

'Polish Socialism' Advocated

Warsaw TU i TERAZ in Polish No 47, 23 Nov 83 p 14

[Article by Wojciech Sokolewicz: "Socialism in Poland, or Polish Socialism"]

[Text] The reader should be warned that if he now follows the author's argument he faces many dangers. He will wonder if he still treads the ground of patriotism or if he is slipping into the quagmire of nationalism, if the pointer indicates internationalism or a maze of cosmopolitanism. This road is not for the fearful or the comfortable, who are wont to tread customary paths only.

1. While the two formulas in the title have to be distinguished, they should not be opposed to each other. It is possible to hear people wondering if there is any point in talking about any Polish socialism at all, or if perhaps people should content themselves with reflections about the type of socialism which is implemented in Poland. This makes, of course, a great difference. In the former case, one assumes that this socialism has its specificity, concerning at least some social relations including the system of authority and its exercise, whereas in the latter case, one assumes that specificities concern only second-rate details of what is called the "national specificity" of socialism. The former phrasing implies that specificity is permanent and programmatic and should find expression both in ends pursued and means applied, whereas the latter implies that the ultimate end is universal and hence all specific means are but transitory in nature.

I wish to make clear right away that, as I have declared before (PRAWO I ZYCIE, August 21, 1982), I prefer the "Polish socialism" formula, with all the consequences this entails. I do so also because in Poland there can only be Polish socialism. It will be Polish, or it won't be at all. There may be a system which is based even on nationalization of all basic means of production and which uses socialist vocabulary, but this will not be socialism in the full sense of the word, at least not in the sense found in the Marxist classics.

One more observation--Polish socialism is in the making already, although we are trying not to see this and not to generalize theoretically about processes really taking place.

Persistence in maintaining specific methods of building socialism is bound to influence the final product. Social development involves something like a dialectic of ends and means; once we have reconciled ourselves to significant, specific methods for building socialism (the often-quoted Polish road to socialism) then we must reconcile ourselves to the fact that socialism realized in such a way will display specific features, too.

Whoever believes in the idea of Polish socialism and wants to disparage the slings and traps inherent in its formula would render a disservice to his cause. On one hand, there is a tendency to reduce this idea to national superficiality, to outward accessories and to symbols which, though important, are no more than symbols, that is, anthem, emblem, uniform, national memorial days, some ceremonies or cultivated traditions. This would be less Polish socialism than socialism in Polish folk costume. On the other hand, there may arise a tendency to neglect socialism's general features, to dilute proper socialist values in goals and concepts which are, at least superficially, of all-national and society-wide significance, such as rapid economic growth or a civilizational advance conceived of autonomously, with no reference to socialism's value system. In such case, in turn, socialism would be just a camouflage for a nonsocialist road of development.

No "Polish socialism" can ever involve any weakening of Poland's alliances. So, such a strategy of development should be preceded by explanations and discussions of debatable issues with Poland's allies. Besides, none of these explanations or discussions will produce desired results before we accurately define what we mean by Polish socialism.

2. It is unquestionable that Polish socialism will fully fulfill socialism's general characteristics (I do not develop this theme because it is self-evident and because of the limited scope of this essay) while applying and adapting them to the situation which exists in our country and nation.

As for the roots and premises of sociopolitical significance, one can say, with some simplification, that these include good and bad experiences of socialist development in Poland as well as traces they have left on the nation's mind; in the ideological sphere, roots and premises should be sought in indigenous Marxist thought of older and more recent vintage.

Polish socialism's specific features should, in my view, manifest themselves in 1) a specific social structure, 2) a specific structure of authority (together with pertinent procedures), 3) in a specific legal status of individual citizens. Let me now unfold these three general entries.

As for social structure, I obviously approach it not in a statistical but a dynamic sense, grasping it in its mobility and change. For this reason, I regard arranging an optimal solution to the conflict between output growth requirements and equitable distribution of goods produced as the absolutely central problem in this respect. The long-lasting dispute between "egalitarianists" and "technocrats" has furnished enough intellectual material for drawing up a satisfactory original program of actions and undertakings. Furthermore, if we are to

seriously talk of socialism's prospects in Poland, we cannot dodge the question of how to eventually socialize Poland's agriculture if the current policy in this respect is to be continued. Forms of such socialization will probably diverge from historical precedents tested in other countries, yet some such forms have to be drawn up and tested practically, even if private farming is to exist in Poland for a long time. This is an extraordinarily difficult problem, because Polish farmers have a less extensive tradition of collective cooperation in production than farmers in many other countries. Nonetheless, some solution to this has to be found in Poland, too.

Different forms of cooperative activity will--precisely because of Polish traditions--be easier to develop in areas other than agriculture. A strong and authentic cooperative movement, which still awaits to be restored to its former glory, can and should be an important element of Polish socialism. The same is true of the consistently pursued socialization of socioeconomic planning and management of state-owned enterprises and institutions (employee self-government).

The required specific structure of authority is a consequence of identifying and institutionalizing pro-socialist forces and movements in public life--which, incidentally, is an absolute precondition for incorporating them into a political system of socialism in any form!--but also non-Marxist such forces. One important problem in this connection is the organized participation of progressive lay Catholic groups in the power structure. This participation seems to be a lasting feature of Polish socialism, although the forms this takes should be reconsidered and gradually adapted to changing conditions. Yet, if this lay Catholic participation is to remain authentic, then our preconceptions concerning the state's ideological functions should be revised.

The party should neither, entirely nor in part, identify itself with the state. Without relinquishing its ideological function it should take a broader view of this function, say by promoting the ideology of PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] rather than that of the party alone.

As I am merely signaling what is an extremely intricate problem, I am running a great risk of being misinterpreted. As for the party's role, stronger emphasis should be put on its leading function in society rather than on its direct involvement in managing the state. One positive side effect of such a shift in emphasis would be ridding the party of much of the danger of bureaucratization the party apparatus is constantly exposed to. To make things clear--the point of this is by no means to weaken the party's political authority, but to introduce a tangible change in methods of exercising authority.

Expansion of the social base of authority--for this is what the whole thing must amount to--must have its consequences in the pattern of relations inside the state apparatus. While not altering the division of tasks in this system, it is necessary to strengthen the control competences of representative and self-government bodies over the administration as well as to reinforce their decision-making competences. Decision-making procedures themselves must be improved by opening new possibilities for considering different standpoints and reconciling different group interests.

The specific structure of authority as described above can be built only under the condition that the individual's specific position in the organization of Polish socialist society is fully recognized.

Indispensable social support can be won for the idea of Polish socialism only when it is presented as socialism which ensures the prevalence of individualism over collectivism.

This, of course, is again a problem of shifting emphases within socialism's value system and under acceptance of its principles. An alternative to this, in theory, could be Polish socialism with a collectivist bent, based on collective submission in the name of supreme national well-being to a leadership relying even on authoritarian rule. But this could only happen if this national well-being were obviously threatened, which is rather unlikely in peacetime. Besides, not only should this threat be self-evident to the majority, but even the well-being itself would have to be recognized as such by the majority. In other words, modern Polish society can be persuaded to rally around Polish socialism if this can guarantee a broad range of civil rights.

I understand that it is necessary to lay limits to these rights, especially to political rights. But limits should apply, say, to anti-state proclamations, whereas the scope of free public speech should be set very broadly. Not every public statement, although officially permitted, need be officially accepted. Limits of freedom should be clear, deeply entrenched, and kept under relatively unofficial protection. The point is that the need to curb civil rights was occasionally taken advantage of by some or other segments of the state bureaucracy. So, it has to be said clearly that law observance in relations between authorities and citizens should be reinforced as a matter of principle in the model of Polish socialism.

Law is effective as an instrument of social discipline and public life organization if, first, it promotes ideas which are at least not incompatible with the sense of justice held by fundamental social classes, strata or groups. This highly abstract observation finds expression in calls to democratize legislative procedures and to view this as a pluralistic rather than uniform process.

Second, law is effective insofar as it is valid in both directions, that is when those wielding power are also subject to it, or when, in a sense, the law has built-in constraints on authority, for the latter obviously has the decisive say in law-making.

In other words, the effectiveness of law as an instrument employed by authority to pursue strategic goals depends on this being treated not as an instrument for achieving current and immediate targets.

Third, law enforcement agencies (courts, prosecution, order-keeping forces) should be subject only to the law, putting into effect state interests.



A program for Polish socialism can become a rallying point for society around common supreme tasks, and, thereby, it can spur society's constructive dynamism. This, under existing conditions, can be said neither of a bid to personalize authority in one way or another (say, by instituting a state presidency), nor of any organization out of itself, nor any nationalistic call for rallying around the national community's interest, which is unconvincing to the nation's majority or takes a purely defensive, stabilization-seeking form.

3. Why do I regard the idea of Polish socialism as the only chance for restoring a link between the authorities and the principal segments of society? Because in its "traditional" form, socialism in Polish society has become associated with defeat and crisis. The young, in particular, have come to identify socialism with its weaknesses and deficiencies, with "sins" committed by successive leaders. There has been much talk of socialism but little attention paid to putting its progressive, humanistic ideals into practice. The time has now come to reverse this situation--less talk, more action. Social practice rather than phraseology itself will persuade the reluctant and disenchanted masses. This requires a radical change in our political vocabulary. I expect this requirement will be fiercely opposed, especially by the older generation of activists whose habits and customs are deeply entrenched and who automatically associate certain meanings with certain word symbols.

Before we can endow the beautiful word socialism with new meanings, we should not abuse it in public statements.

A sentence such as "In a socialist state, our socialist law guarantees socialist law observance" can attract no one and will only cause people to turn away.

However, there is much more to this. We have grown accustomed, more or less deliberately, to arriving at attitudes of social commitment through pro-socialist views. The state was accepted because it was to become the organizer of socialist changes. Now the situation has changed, and this should not merely be stated, practical conclusions should also be drawn.

At present, one arrives at pro-socialist views through attitudes of social commitment. Followers should be recruited for socialism by developing loyalty to the state. A great many citizens are motivated, and will tend to be so in the future, in their positive attitude toward the state primarily by their belief that it is a national state, one which guarantees the nation's basic interests while also being a socialist state. The formula of Polish socialism can excellently expedite, promote and expand these processes in social consciousness.

It is very important to propagate the fact that the socialist Polish state is indeed a sovereign state of the Polish nation. This is an extremely complicated matter, not only because Western observers are watching us closely, but also because rightist nationalism is about to be revived. In its bid to elevate its own nation in the hierarchy of all nations, nationalism, of course, puts its own nation in the role as a rival with others. For such rivalry, it needs a specific reference. The boundary line between sound patriotism--and this is what the idea of Polish socialism should imply--and hazardous nationalism is easy



to overstep. Those professional guardians of ideological purity [word indistinct] in the few watchtowers cannot guard it effectively. Yet, this does remain a genuine problem. During the 1970's, and earlier, successive leaders exacerbated this problem by erroneously relying in their mass propaganda on false visions of citizens' hopes and aspirations rather than on Poles' specific mode of thinking and their national pride. This explains why Solidarity proved so successful in its propaganda, which rekindled nationalist emotions and flattered Polish patriotism, which "official" propaganda had failed to pay homage to. Unfortunately, it cannot be said that all traces of old errors have by now been obliterated.

It should be continually pointed out, which we are doing in fact, that while it remains a member of the international worker movement, our party sovereignly decides the tactical and strategic problems of socialist construction in Poland.

Another step on the road of winning society to the cause of socialist construction would be to include in official party documents the concept of Polish socialism defined as a unity of goals and ways of reaching them.

#### 'Polish Socialism' Challenged

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish No 283, 29 Nov 83 p 4

[Article by Anna Pawlowska: "Socialism in Poland, Polish Socialism, or Polish Road to Socialism?"]

[Text] Wojciech Sokolewicz gives his article (TU i TERAZ No 47) a two, not three-part title and warns his readers that this article is "not for the fearful or the comfortable" and that you as a reader may slip "into the quagmire of nationalism" or "the maze of cosmopolitanism."

But that is a bit far-fetched; in fact, this topic is a well-known one in the communist movement, if one considers the fact that it has been cropping up for the past quarter-century in response to both internal and external events. Indeed, it first emerged even earlier, namely, right after the war, as East European countries were drawn into the orbit of genuine socialism.

Sokolewicz writes, "In the former case [of Polish socialism], one assumes that this socialism has its specificity, concerning at least some social relations including the system of authority and its exercise, whereas in the latter case [of socialism in Poland], one assumes that specificities concern only second-rate details of what is called 'national specificity.' The former phrasing implies that specificity is permanent and programmatic and should find expression both in ends pursued and means applied, whereas the latter implies that the ultimate end is universal and hence all specific means are but transitory in their nature." Sokolewicz pledges himself in favor of the former concept supporting his choice with the rather arbitrary argument that "in Poland there can only be Polish socialism. It will be Polish, or it won't be at all."

The category of a Polish road to socialism, which I introduced to the title, is interpreted perfidiously by Sokolewicz, who writes, "Once we have reconciled ourselves to significant, specific methods for building socialism, then we must

reconcile ourselves to the fact that socialism realized in such a way will display specific features, too." Now we by no means must reconcile ourselves to this. In his reasoning, Sokolewicz takes a dogmatic view of interdependence between ends and means.

The claim that there is but one unified road to socialism (or, to call a spade a spade, the Soviet model must be imitated always and everywhere), which was launched for several years following World War II in its Stalinist formula, was later rejected for good by the communist movement, including the Soviet party; if it does recur, then only as faint echoes of a long-buried past in lazy speculations by a few individuals or small groups.

Even anti-communists of today can hardly launch such charges against the socialist community's internal relations at present.

However, the ubiquitous recognition of Lenin's own idea of a variety of roads to socialism is not equivalent to interpreting the historical process in such a way that numerous and differentiated types of socialism are bound to emerge eventually. Let us make it clear, these would have to be more or less "socialist" types of socialism, which would "permanently and programmatically," as Sokolewicz puts it, comprise elements of the preceding social formation. I do admit I have no concept of a "socialism with programmatic elements of capitalism."

Sokolewicz, in fact, does not propound such a bizarre hybrid. Yet, what does he indicate as specific features of the Polish road to socialism which, if reaffirmed, would predetermine socialism in Poland to be "Polish?" He mentions three such features: "1) a specific social structure, 2) a specific structure of authority (together with pertinent procedures), and 3) a specific legal status of individual citizens." Let us consider them one by one, adding yet another which the author preferred to ignore.

In his first point, Sokolewicz touches upon a problem which the outstanding American anti-communist Zbigniew Brzezinski once viciously described as "the orphan of Marxist doctrine," namely the agrarian question. Indeed, we have been seeking, independently, and not without difficulties or mistakes, an original way of "adopting" this "orphan" in that we provide a long-lasting existence of private farming enjoying equal economic and social rights. But does this mean that our party is making a long-term concession to leave production means to the private disposal of any single social class or group? In agriculture, as is known, there are no fewer than three different forms of ownership, and yet we keep emphasizing that Poland's agriculture is one. But, does the fact that things are as they are today guarantee that the state or cooperative segments will not expand their influence tomorrow? Or, does this preclude that one segment may expand to eventually embrace, in a natural way, the entire sector of agricultural production in Poland?

Another undeniably specific Polish feature of socialist construction (which Sokolewicz, again, evades) is the Roman Catholic Church's specific role as a factor of significant moral and social power. Yet, I do not think it is necessary to build a Catholic social doctrine or the Catholic value system into the concept of socialism with a view to making it "Polish."

These specific features of the Polish road (and, to complete the picture, Polish society's historically-conditioned propensity to anti-Soviet attitudes) make it certainly a difficult job to build socialism. As a "consolation," let me point out that the brotherly socialist countries also have their own difficulties, due, for instance, to the fact that two or more nationalities live in one state.

Sokolewicz's other specific features appear to me in no way specific. In his second point, Sokolewicz contends that if we expand the social base of authority, then "the state should neither in its entirety nor in parts, nor in its individual institutions be identified with the party," and "competences of representative and self-government bodies [should be] strengthened." All this is undeniably true; it is even taken directly from the party program (which, by the way, Sokolewicz oddly puts in opposition to the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] program, which shows his ignorance of what this movement is basically about). I only do not understand why this should suddenly be a specifically Polish feature of socialism? If one adds to Sokolewicz's argument the tiny trifle that as long as in such a democratic, law-abiding state, which "respects different points of view and reconciles different group interests," the party retains its leading role in such a state (in the classical Marxist sense), then we are facing no specificity but, conversely, a very universal feature of socialism. If this additional remark is ignored, then perhaps Poland can have some liberal state system, but not socialism.

Sokolewicz's third point is "Indispensable social support can be won for the idea of Polish socialism only when it is presented as a [brand of] socialism which ensures preponderance of individualism over collectivism in it." I am flabbergasted at his easy identification of "collectivism" with "leadership relying on authoritarian rule," or, as you can surmise from his further argument, that collectivism inevitably implies denial of civil rights. I have always believed, and do so even after reading Sokolewicz's article, that socialism's greatest challenge to the previous history of mankind is its promise to harmonize what is individual, unique, with what is common, collective. Modern Marxism's certainly insufficient consideration of individualistic elements can certainly not be remedied by "appending" individualism in its Catholic or existentialist versions to it. This insufficiency can be eliminated only by upgrading Marxist theory in this respect, which should be done with its own specific instruments; this would mean overcoming the old antinomy of collectivism and individualism, an antinomy not immanent to human species, but caused by its class differentiation.

Yet, the oddest things come in his conclusion, when Sokolewicz holds that preservation of national dignity is said to be a specifically Polish feature of socialism. Is he really saying that Poles are something like a chosen people, that their sense of national dignity is unique among the nations of the world? I don't believe he is.

Sokolewicz is undeniably right to caution us against a "socialism in Polish folk costume," that is, against reducing specifically national features to outward symbols. He also warns against the danger of flaunting national specificity to "camouflage a non-socialist road of development."

Exactly. This is why I challenge his view about any "Polish socialism," and, paraphrasing his own words, I want to point out that, like any other country in the socialist community, Poland has its own road to socialism--simply, to socialism.

GROUPS ARRESTED FOR ANTISTATE ACTIVITY

LD152247 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 15 Dec 83

[Text] In recent days, several dozen persons wishing to return to normal life, to avail themselves of the amnesty and disclose their illegal antistate activity, reported to the prosecution organs, among them being, in Warsaw, (Krzysztof Nieciejewski), (Wieslaw Morawski) and (Jacek Jastrzebski), employees of the [?tewar] enterprise. They distributed illegal publications.

In Radom, two employees from the (Walter) factory who printed and disseminated materials of antistate content, voluntarily surrendered, while in Gdansk, Wroclaw, and in other localities, people who had operated in the so-called conspiratorial structures reported to the appropriate authorities. All were released after completion of the usual formalities.

Meanwhile, in Wroclaw, a group of about a dozen people from the so-called fighting Solidarity and of the so-called Regional Executive Committee of the Dolnyslask region have been apprehended. A group which printed and distributed illegal antistate publications has also been placed under provisional arrest.

In Siedlce, Mirosław P., a former student of the Krakow Mining and Metallurgical Academy, who had been expelled from the college and also punished for conducting antistate activity, and Bogumil (?T), a craftsman, have been provisionally arrested. They engaged in conspiratorial activity.

In Gdansk, a group of three people were provisionally arrested. They belonged to a previously uncovered illegal organization, the Fascist Organization for Sabotage and Terrorism, which carried out a series of acts of sabotage, including burning Polish State Railway buildings.

CSO: 2600/467

RURAL SOLIDARITY ACTIVIST, OTHERS SURRENDER

LD161927 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Text] More people are coming out of hiding who, before the lifting of martial law, committed crimes for political reasons.

Among others, in Bydgoszcz, farmer Michal Bartoszcze, an activist on the former Regional Board of NSZZ Solidarity for private farmers, has revealed his illegal activity in the so-called underground structures in the rural milieu. In a conversation at the voivodship office of internal affairs, Michal Bartoszcze took a critical stance as regards his activity and all underground activities.

In Wroclaw, five people gave themselves up who, in illegal structures, organized collections of money in factories to finance the activity of the political underground and distributed illegal publications.

In Krakow, two employees of the Lenin Steelworks who during the entire period of martial law were active participants in the operations of the underground structures of the former NSZZ Solidarity, have given themselves up.

In Radom, Jerzy Czajkowski, an employee of the mining and metal plant in (Zemsko) near Starachowice gave himself up. He distributed anti-state publications at his workplace and place of residence.

In Warsaw, Maria Narutkowska, an employee of the Ursus engineering works, who organized in the plant the collection of money for illegal activity, has given herself up.

All those coming out of hiding, after completing the required formalities, have been released.

CSO: 2600/460

DAILY REPORTS ON OLSZOWSKI VISIT TO KAMPUCHEA

AU301241 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Nov 83 p 9

["Communique" on the visit by PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski 19-21 November]

[Text] Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and PPR minister of foreign affairs, has paid an official visit of friendship to Kampuchea from 19 to 21 November on the invitation of the Central Committee Politburo of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] and of Hun Sen, deputy premier and minister of foreign affairs of the Kampuchean People's Republic [KPR].

During his stay in the KPR, Stefan Olszowski laid a wreath at the victory monument, visited the Tuel Seng museum of martyrology, the former royal palace, and the national museum.

He was received by Heng Samrin, KPRP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the KPR State Council, and also by Chan Si, KPRP Central Committee Politburo member and KPR premier. During his stay in Kampuchea, Stefan Olszowski also held talks with Minister Hun Sen.

The following took part in the talks on the Kampuchean side: Hun Sen, KPRP Central Committee Politburo member, deputy premier, and KPR foreign minister; Dith Munty, deputy foreign minister; Sieng Kihoun, director of the USSR and East European Department; and Chan Lekha, director of the General Politics Department.

The following took part in the talks on the Polish side: Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and PPR foreign minister; Ludwik Klockowski, PPR ambassador to Kampuchea; Tadeusz Pawlak, the foreign minister's adviser, and Wladyslaw Malik, also the foreign minister's adviser.

During the talks, the sides informed each other about the situation in their countries and exchanged views on how to strengthen and develop relations of friendship and cooperation between them and on the current international situation. Stefan Olszowski highly praised the revolutionary achievements of the Kampuchean people in recent years, under the luminary leadership of the KPRP.

The Polish side expressed recognition for the Kampuchean people's achievements in the work of national and social rebirth and in constructing a new society, as well as in implementing the resolutions of the Fourth KPRP Congress. The Polish side confirmed its solidarity with the firm will of the Kampuchean people to consolidate the people's state, independence and sovereignty. It also highly praised the brotherhood and alliance between revolutionary Kampuchea, Vietnam, and Laos, and welcomed the results of the summit conference between the three Indochinese countries in February 1983, which is opening up a new stage in relations between them in the struggle for the defense of these countries' independence and sovereignty; against the forces of hegemony and imperialism; for the elimination of tension in Southeast Asia; and for the creation of zones of peace, stability, and cooperation there.

The Polish side stated that the KPR Government is the only lawful and authentic representative of the Kampuchean people at the United Nations and in all international bodies; and it highly praised the KPR's peaceful policy aimed at establishing and guaranteeing lasting peace in Southeast Asia. Hun Sen warmly thanked the PZPR and the government and friendly people of Poland, who have firmly supported and are still supporting the Kampuchean people's just battle for the defense and construction of the Kampuchean fatherland, which is gradually changing over to socialism.

The Kampuchean side highly praised the efforts of the Polish people, the PZPR, and government under General W. Jaruzelski's leadership to overcome the difficulties and strengthen socialist construction, and expressed the conviction that despite the activities of American imperialism and some of its allies, Poland will quickly achieve progress in political, economic, and social life, as well as progress in establishing a wide front of national accord.

The Kampuchean side stated that the tension in Southeast Asia is caused by the aggressive and interventionist policy of American imperialism and Chinese expansionism, in league with other reactionary forces in the region.

The KPR foreign minister condemned the ceaseless efforts of the United States and some NATO countries to interfere in the PPR's domestic affairs, and also condemned the slander campaign against Poland. He stressed that Poland's domestic affairs are the exclusive domain of the PPR and should only be solved by the PPR Government.

During the exchange of views on the international situation, both sides expressed profound unease at the growth in international tension caused by the intensification of the arms race brought about by U.S. imperialism in its aim to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union. Both sides fully support the peaceful initiatives contained in Y. Andropov's 28 September 1983 declaration. In addition, both sides expressed the belief that the declaration by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states, the 20 June 1983 Moscow joint statement by the leaders of the Warsaw Pact member-states, and the Sofia declaration by the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact member-states are a sign of the socialist countries' good will to continue their peaceful policy in order to quell the threat of thermonuclear annihilation and heal the international situation.

Both sides stated that the production of new mass-destruction weapons and the installation of new American intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe at the end of this year would be a barrier to international detente, and would once again escalate the arms race, thus threatening world peace and exposing all mankind to the danger of nuclear war.

The Polish side expressed its solidarity with the Kampuchean people in their firm struggle for the defense of their revolutionary achievements, and against the expansionist and imperialist forces which are publicizing on the international arena the criminal Pol Pot, Ieng Sary, and Khieu Samphan cliques.

Both sides said they believe that this kind of activity is brutal interference in the KPR's domestic affairs and results in destabilization in Southeast Asia. Both sides agreed with the resolution on the situation in Southeast Asia adopted at the seventh summit meeting of the heads of state and government of nonaligned nations in Delhi. Both sides are deeply convinced that the implementation of this resolution will be a good contribution toward peace and stabilization in this region.

Both sides expressed solidarity with the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in their struggle for national and social liberation, independence, and social progress, and against colonialism, imperialism, and apartheid.

Both sides fully supported the Mongolian People's Republic's proposal concerning the signing of an agreement on nonaggression and the non-use of force in relations between countries in Asia and the Pacific.

Both sides condemned the Israeli policy of aggression supported by the United States against the Arab states and the Palestinian people, and supported the initiative of convening an international peace conference in this region.

Both sides condemned the United States' interference in the domestic affairs of Central American states, especially the recent armed occupation of Grenada by American forces. They fully supported the struggle of the Nicaraguan and Salvadorean people for freedom and independence. They supported and continue to support all efforts to peacefully solve the conflicts in this region.

Both sides fully supported the struggle of the Afghan people in defense of their revolutionary achievements.

Both sides confirmed their aim to widen and deepen relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

The talks between Stefan Olszowski and Hun Sen took place in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

Both sides believed that the consensus of views on all the problems that were touched upon will serve the development and strengthening of friendship and cooperation between both countries.

Stefan Olszowski invited Hun Sen to make an official visit of friendship to the PPR. The invitation was welcomed. The date for the visit will be set at a later time.



OLSZOWSKI ENDS VISIT TO THAILAND

AU060928 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Dec 83 p 7

["Communique" on visit of Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski to the Kingdom of Thailand from 28-30 November]

[Text] (PAP)--On 28-30 November Stefan Olszowski, minister of foreign affairs of the Polish People's Republic visited the Kingdom of Thailand on an official visit at the invitation of Sitthi Sawetsila, minister of foreign affairs of the Kingdom of Thailand.

During his visit Minister S. Olszowski was received by Phichai Rattakun, deputy prime minister, who was standing in for the premier of Thailand. The atmosphere of the talks was friendly, and problems that were of interest to both sides were discussed, in particular, prospects of further development in Polish-Thai relations.

A meeting between the foreign ministers of both countries took place during which the state of bilateral relations was discussed. It was said that these relations are developing successfully and are creating a climate of cooperation and friendliness between both countries. It was agreed that both sides will continue their efforts to stimulate these relations further and to develop them in various fields. It was said that there are still considerable possibilities in the sphere of economic cooperation, in particular.

The ministers of foreign affairs exchanged views on certain international problems with particular consideration to matters linked to consolidating international security and development in Europe and Asia.

Considerable concern was expressed in connection with the worsening international situation. It was agreed that it is essential to make efforts aimed at halting the arms race. It was said, at the same time, that there is a growing need for dialogue in the current situation as well as a need to mutually search for solutions to international problems.

Stefan Olszowski invited Sitthi Sawetsila, minister of foreign affairs, to pay an official visit to Poland. The date of the visit was set for a later time.

During his visit to Thailand Minister S. Olszowski met with Koson Krairoek, commerce minister. During their talks they raised subjects directly connected to the development of trade between both countries, including the work of a mutual commission whose first session is to take place at the beginning of 1984.

S. Olszowski met with Kriangsak Chomananov, [spelling as published] chairman of the Foreign Commission of the Thai Parliament, a well-known politician and past premier, and had a sincere talk with him.

Minister Olszowski also met with a group of industrialists and economic activists who were represented by UCM International Company, Ltd. Issues connected with Polish-Thai trade were discussed during this meeting. The delegation also visited the Thai Ministry of Agriculture and had talks at the Farmers Bank.

CSO: 2600/464

## MOKRZYSZCZAK ATTENDS ZIELONA GORA CONFERENCE

LD192158 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 19 Dec 83

[Text] In Zielona Gora, Biala Podlaska and Czestochowa voivodships report-back and election conferences of the PZPR were held. Here is our Zielona Gora correspondent, [Ryszard Malitowski].

Since 0900 the voivodship report-back and election conference of the PZPR has been in session. The report and program paper of the voivodship committee (KW) was presented by the first secretary of the KW, Jerzy Dabrowski. The past 3 years have yielded many valuable lessons and experiences, which aid the party in the performance of its functions. They have also brought about a change in the methods and assumptions underlying the work of the PZPR cells and echelons.

The period of direct political struggle has worked to integrate the voivodship party organization. It is stronger, more energetic, and effective in action. Now and in the future, the role and prestige of the PZPR will be determined first and foremost by its members themselves, by their attitudes, rectitude, honesty, and decency.

The report of the KW also contained an assessment of the situation in all areas of political and socioeconomic life in Zielona Gora Voivodship. Progress is being noted in the economy of the region, for instance. But the size of industrial production, to take one example, is still 12 percent lower than in 1980. What is more, the differences--often considerable ones--between the results of enterprises functioning in very similar circumstances as far as supply and cadres are concerned also give reason for reflection. This was also stressed in the discussion, when specific actions were suggested and pointed out.

Both the report and program paper and the discussion adopted stances on the most important issues for the party and the region. Once again, the need was stressed for unrelenting struggle by the party cells and members against all manifestations of social pathology, against the bad management and waste that continue to exist. The conference also took a resolute stance on the most important of issues: the defense of world peace. A proposal by a female representative of the workforce of Zielona Gora's 'Polska Welna' [Polish wool] that the resolution contain a statement on peace and disarmament adopted today at a rally of workers at that enterprise was received with full approval.

The session of the voivodship report-back and election conference of the PZPR in Zielona Gora is still going on. Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, candidate member of the Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee, and General Tadeusz Tuczapski, deputy minister of national defense, are among the participants.

KUBIAK ADDRESSES LENIN STEELWORKS PZPR COMMITTEE

AU201224 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Dec 83 p 2

[Text] (PAP)--On 15 December, there was a report-back and electoral conference of the largest PZPR factory organization in the country, that of the Lenin Steelworks in Krakow.

Hieronim Kubiak, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member, took part in the talks, at which the most attention was devoted to problems of implementing economic reform and to the personal responsibility of party members for implementing it.

It was said that it is in the party's duty toward society to quickly implement economic reform.

The most important matter right now is to considerably increase productivity, Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the Federation of Steelworks Trade Unions, said.

Speaking about the party's most important goals and tasks, H. Kubiak drew attention to the need to increase productivity, liberate the social energy and psychological strength of all Poles, bridge the gap between society and the authorities which is harmful for everyone, and guarantee peace in a secure and sovereign Polish state. He said that the goals of party work and of internal party life should conform to the following principle: the state of the country depends on the party, and the state of the party depends on its primary organizations, especially those in heavy industry.

The participants in the conference elected new authorities for the Lenin Steelworks party organization. Kazimierz Miniura was once again elected first secretary of the Lenin Steelworks PZPR Committee.

CSO: 2600/465

PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

Lomza, Suwalki Province Conferences

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 5-6 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (jtb) in Lomza and (jn) in Suwalki: "The Idea of Friendship Is Always Alive"]

[Text] Provincial Conferences of the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship [TPPR] in Lomza and Suwalki

The Second Provincial Reports-Elections Conference of the TPPR met yesterday in Lomza. The participants were: the PZPR KW [Provincial Committee] first secretary, Wlodzimierz Michaluk; the chairman of the ZSL WK [Provincial Committee], Czeslaw Gartych; the chairman of the SD WK, Marian Mieszkowski; the chairman of the WRN [Provincial People's Council], Zygmunt Grygo, as well as delegation members of the Lithuanian Chapter of the TPPR, Wiktoria Turwanskaite and Pawel Sokolowas. Also present were members of the Presidium of the Main Headquarters of the TPPR, the secretary of the ZSL NK [Chief Committee], Kazimierz Kozub, and the secretary of the local headquarters, Tadeusz Orlof.

The Lomza TPPR organization currently has more than 21,200 members in its ranks, including almost 13,000 pupils. As was affirmed in the program report, the pressing task of the TPPR is the widespread dissemination of knowledge concerning the traditions of the Polish and Russian workers movement and the historic role of the October Revolution, thanks to which the Polish people won their independence. Another task is the popularization of the multifaceted cooperation between Poland and the USSR.

Henryk Cieslik, Tadeusz Laskowski, Walerian Karpowicz and Irena Sliwinski also spoke about this common theme. They also emphasized such elements of Polish-Soviet cooperation as the economic aid from the USSR rendered in particularly difficult times. This occurred also in postwar reconstruction and recently during the period of sanctions by the capitalist countries. The commonality of interests of both countries and peoples and scientific and cultural exchanges were also stressed. Reference was made to the need to diversify the forms of education used with young people and to increase the society's influence in large plants and in the countryside.

On behalf of the Lithuanian guests, Wiktoria Turwaneskaite passed on best wishes to the delegates and the entire Lomza delegation in Polish. Mikolaj Jednacz, the conference chairman, thanked the Lithuanians for their wishes in Lithuanian.

The PZPR KW first secretary, Wlodzimierz Michaluk, spoke up during the discussion. Wishing the delegates the successful implementation of the adopted program to spread the idea of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Poland and the Soviet Union, he focused attention on the fact that the conference was taking place on the eve of the October Revolution and after the deliberations of the Central Committee's 13th Plenum which demonstrated loyalty to the teachings and conclusions of the socialist revolution.

The conference adopted an activities program for the upcoming term of office and elected new officials for the provincial organization. Mieczyslaw Brzezicki remained, as before, the chairman of the provincial office of the TPPR; new vice chairpersons are Eugeniusz Mioduszewski, Mieczyslaw Baginski and Marian Mieszkowski; the new secretary is Jozef Wloczkowski. Nine delegates will represent the Lomza organization at the national congress of the TPPR.

During the conference, Anna Rutkowska was decorated with the OOP's [District Party Organization] Cavalry Cross; Wladyslaw Lach received the Golden Cross of Merit, while Elzbieta Walduska received the Silver Cross. "For Services to Lomza Province" decorations were passed out, as well as other golden medals of honor for work in the TPPR and the "A Young Activist in the TPPR" award.

The Third Provincial Reports-Elections Conference of the TPPR has taken place in Suwalki. The participants included Stanislaw Lewandowski, secretary of the TPPR Main Office; Oleg Dawtian, consul of the General Consulate of the USSR in Gdansk; Mikolajus Nowikas, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Chapter of the TPPR in Wilnius; Kazimierz Koziol, chairman of the ZSL WK; Jerzy Gryko, chairman of the SD WK; Boleslaw Dziadziak, chairman of the Provincial Council of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth]; Kazimierz Jablonski, governor, and Jozef Swierzbinski, PZPR KW secretary.

The conference evaluated the activity of the TPPR provincial organization for the past term of office and set an activities program through 1986. The chairman of the provincial office of the TPPR, Aleksy Lozowski, stated that the organization, engaged in the building of permanent friendship between Poland and the USSR, is fulfilling the centuries-old aims of the progressive forces of both countries. Currently, the most important tasks are the strengthening of the society's basic elements, an increase in ideological-educational influence, and the provision of honest information concerning the country of the Soviets and Polish-Soviet relations to the people.

During the discussion there was talk about the work and tasks of the organizations and the traditions of Polish-Soviet friendship. One of the delegates affirmed that it is necessary to move from occasional activities to thoughtful and cognitive activities, taking into consideration both history and the present-day contacts between the two peoples. Reference was made to the need to improve the work of circles and to expand the activity among plant work forces and rural communities.

An important undertaking is the search for attractive forms of activity, applicable to the particular interests of the centers. Attention was focused on the importance of direct contacts. With regard to this, suggestions were made to expand the cooperation of particular groups like teachers' councils. Many speakers stressed the significance of friendship with the USSR in the face of growing tension in the international arena and the assistance from the country of the Soviets to Poland in overcoming the economic crisis.

Mikolajus Nowikas also spoke during the proceedings. He presented the rich traditions of cooperation between the Lithuanian SSR and Poland.

Stanislaw Lewandowski emphasized the significance of specific activity by the TPPR, especially among young people. Work often has to be begun by revealing the sources, history and reasons for Polish-Soviet friendship. At the same time, it is necessary to fight against all kinds of myths, gossip and erroneous conceptions.

During the proceedings, a provincial office, a provincial audit commission and delegates to the Ninth National Congress of the TPPR were elected. A. Lozowski remained the chairman of the TPPR provincial office.

A moment of silence was dedicated to the memory of those TPPR activists who had died in office. During a break in the proceedings, a delegation of conference participants and the Soviet consul placed flowers at the soldiers' cemetery in Switzerland and before the Monument to Gratitude in Suwalki.

Meritorious activists were decorated with state, regional and organizational awards. Anna Perkowska from Augustowa received the Cavalry Cross of the Order of Polish Rebirth. Former soldiers of the Soviet Army were honored with "For Victory Over the Germans in the Great Patriotic War," "For the Defense of Stalingrad," and "For the Defense of Moscow" medals. A gold TPPR decoration was awarded to the provincial office of internal affairs and to the team of professional schools in Elk.

The delegates were entertained by the laureate winner of this year's Festival of Soviet Songs in Zielona Gora, Jolanta Hawienczyk, and an all-Polish competition of Russian and Soviet poetry and prose recitation in Kolobrzeg by Ewa Zach, and a group from the ZSZ CZSP [Vocational Schools Group of the Central Union of Labor Cooperatives] in Elk.

#### Reports-Elections Campaign in Locomotive Shop

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 5-6 Nov 83 pp 2, 4

[Article by Bogdan Miller: "Party Reports-Elections Campaign in a Olsztyn Locomotive Shop"]

[Text] The party reports-elections campaign began in an atmosphere of dignity and concern for today and tomorrow. Meetings are taking place in those basic organizations where, in accordance with the policies of the Ninth PZPR Congress, they are recognized as being the most important of party activities.

Such a meeting also occurred on 4 November in the basic organization section of the first team of the Locomotive Shop of the Olsztyn junction of the PKP [Polish State Railroads]. Participating in the meeting was a member of this organization, candidate Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak. Among the invited guests were: Jan Malinowski, PZPR KW secretary in Olsztyn; Stefan Strumillo, party first secretary of the KM [Municipal Committee] in Olsztyn, and Stanislaw Olszowski, chief of the Traction Office of the State Railroads District Directorate in Gdansk. Of course, Mieczyslaw Pabian, first secretary of the Plant Committee of the Olsztyn junction, was also present.

First Secretary Wacław Jackiewicz presented the main report of the OOP [Department Party Organization] Executive Board. The board's activity was going through a difficult period in the life of the country and plant... The numerous personnel changes in the makeup of the organization's officials gave distinctive proof of this. But this did not slow the executive board from conducting its regular strenuous party work, or from realizing the programs and tasks set by party resolutions. And the board did this despite the inadequacies of effective methods of action, the really insignificant amount of assistance from basic echelons, and the lack of sufficient strength to adequately deal with its own basic problems. And there were enough of these problems: the activity of the social commission during the suspension of the trade unions, the establishment of the latter on the strength of a parliamentary act and the intervention in many personal affairs. And then there was the business with the boss of the locomotive shop in August 1981 when a desired change in that position was not allowed because of the attitude of the OOP's executive board and the entire work force.

Other issues which still have to be settled include the need to increase the activity of all party members in the OOP without exception, the most efficient way of dealing with the youth movement and a whole host of other issues, including many problems from the economic and technical areas of running the plant. In a word, while the report covered everything which had been done, a lot was said about what still had to be done. This honesty was reflected in the discussion which began after W. Jackiewicz's speech. The discussion emphasized that the party cannot act intermittently, but needed continuity in its undertakings (Piotr Gaus). It is also necessary to remember that work in any party echelon means great obligations. As a result of Comrade Gaus' opinion that the party is actually operating and that cooperation with plant managements is shaping up nicely, it is simply necessary to continue with this good beginning and implement the correctly developed program. The fact is that work with young people especially demands careful attention. Wincent Kazimierczak, the first secretary of the locomotive shop's POP [Basic Party Organization], stated that this was justly emphasized in the report. However, he also said that by working with young people for many years he had gained one experience: young people should not be openly lied to, or promised to, or held back. A host of problems was touched upon in the discussion which covered professional issues, supply difficulties and social subsidies.

During his speech, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, candidate Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, said that the executive board did not refer to



him as a member of the OOP. So he had to explain to the comrades of his organization what he did while he performed the responsible duties of a party official. He mentioned a number of duties which he had to perform as a Central Committee secretary. He then took the opportunity to inform those present that from November 1981 he had participated in 165 meetings in 47 provinces. He went on to say that he believed that that was not enough to meet either the requirements or his own criteria. However, there are certain elements which force us out of our routine. For instance, there is an active opposition inspired by subversives. He stated that he hoped that the comrades listening would include elements from the Central Committee's 12th and 13th plenums in a resolution of the day's reports-elections meeting. He also stressed that it was necessary to develop a schedule for implementing plenary resolutions, to conduct an evaluation of leading party officials and, finally, to comply with basic issues so that the attitude of a party member arouses no misgivings. All of this has to be controlled, of course. There were many good programs, but their implementation often went poorly.

In the reports-elections campaign, the 96-man OOP had the right according to party statutes to elect a 7-member executive board and 19 delegates to a plant conference. As a measure of trust in former officials, five members of the old executive board were reelected. Jan Smolinski, a machinist, was elected the OOP first secretary. Among the delegates to the plant conference was also Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak.

#### Gdynia Reports-Elections Campaign

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 5-6 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (m) and (cyb): "The Party Reports-Elections Campaign Is Underway"]

[Text] A reports-elections campaign is underway in the department party organizations [OOP] in the Paris Commune Shipyards in Gdynia. These organizations have more than 1,400 comrades.

Yesterday, reports-elections meetings took place in department K-6, W-2, LK and also in the main energy department. PZPR KW secretary and member of the OOP, Mieczyslaw Chabowski, participated. He was elected a delegate to the plant conference.

During the discussion, the dockworkers covered the problems associated with strengthening the party plant organization and the leading role of the working class in the socialist state. They also discussed the economic and professional problems of the shipyards in Gdynia in the context of the difficult and complex national socio-political and economic situation.

A reports-elections meeting of the basic party organization [POP] took place yesterday in Dzierzgonie at the Polam Installation Equipment Plant. Jerzy Prusiecki, PZPR KW first secretary in Elblag, participated. After a discussion of the problems associated with the implementation of tasks from the last term of office, a construction debate lasting several hours ensued. Various themes concerning party activity in the town and the role of the POP

in the plant were brought up. People spoke of the need to expand the organization and to increase its activity and influence on socio-production relations. Also thoroughly discussed were the problems associated with changes of choice in the material restriction situation and the operations of a small plant within the economic reform. Attention was also focused on the possibility of further expanding apartment construction in Dzierzgonie.

#### Gdansk Party Plenum on Ideology

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 5-6 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (mag): "The Party Provincial Committee in Gdansk Wants To Turn Ideology Into Social Reality"]

[Text] "The Tasks of the Provincial Party Organization Arising From the Resolutions of the PZPR Central Committee's 13th Plenum" were discussed at PZPR KW plenum which met yesterday in the Main Hall of the Provincial Headquarters in Gdansk.

The participants of the KW plenum were members of the provincial echelon and many activists of the ideological front; they included: echelon secretaries from the first level, members of operational ideological commissions, activists from social and young people's organizations and veterans of the workers movement. Jozef Czyrek, a member of the Politburo and PZPR Central Committee secretary, also participated.

Stanislaw Bejger, Politburo candidate member and PZPR KW first secretary, opened the proceedings and stated that the materials for the plenum had been the subject of party discussion with consultation councils which were conducted in the local organizations by the secretaries of the provincial echelon. The KW first secretary expressed the hope that the resolution worked out during the proceedings and the detailed schedule of the resolution's implementation would effectively contribute to the consolidation of ideological-organizational unity and to an increase in the effectiveness of the activities of the party organization in Gdansk. This is of particular significance for the party reports-elections campaign currently underway.

KW Secretary Edward Kijek read the report of the KW executive board. The significance of the directions and tasks which were defined by the provincial ideological conference for ideological-educational work in the party organization in Gdansk was the practical adaptation of the guiding principles to the specifics of the region. These principles were developed by the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

In recent years, a considerable consolidation of the statutory unity and an improvement in the ideological and political activity of party echelons and organizations had taken place, even though the conditions for this activity continued to be difficult. It is easier to correct organizational mistakes than to mend problems in the social consciousness. As Comrade E. Kijek affirmed in his report, the effectiveness and style of intraparty work has improved. This includes ideological work. Afterward, party organizations grew stronger and became more efficient in their actions.

The number of new people being accepted into the party continues to be unsatisfactory. The level of work with party candidates and young people is cause for concern. As far as responding to social expectations, not all party organizations are involving themselves enough in the solution of those problems which disturb their communities.

Twenty-three speakers spoke at the plenum: Zbigniew Lawer, secretary of the party organization in the Second Transshipment Region of the Office of the Port of Gdynia; Jozef Krolikowski, chief editor of GLOS WYBRZEZA; Eugeniusz Wojcik, POP secretary and tracer from the K-1 Department of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk; Arkadiusz Jakubczak, member of the Presidium of the ZW [Provincial Office] of the TPPR [Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship] and OOP [Department party organization] secretary from the Maritime Office in Gdynia; Rajmund Kupper, KW member and teacher from Kartuzy; Zygmunt Hebel, mechanic from the PKP junction in Gdansk; Antoni Grzegorzewski, KW member and first secretary of the KG [Gmina Committee] in Sierakowice; Kazimierz Krefta, KW member and OOP first secretary of the Nauta Firm in Gdynia; Mieczyslaw Chabowski, PZPR KW secretary; Eugeniusz Glogowski, chairman of the Ideological Commission of the ZW [Provincial Office] of the ZSMP [Polish Student Youth Union]; Halina Minkowska, KW member and an official of the Port Office in Gdansk; Walenty Milenuszkin, chairman of the RW of the PRON; Lucjan Maczka, Party Plant Committee first secretary in WUSW; Stefan Milewski, vice governor of Gdansk; Irena Cieszyńska, KW member and director of the ROPP [Regional Center for Party Work] in Pruszcz-Gdansk; Kazimierz Rynkowski, president of Gdansk; ZW chairman of the TKKS [Society for the Promotion of Secular Culture]; Bogdan Jurkiewicz, KU [College Committee] first secretary of UG [Gdansk University]; Zbigniew Wrobel, member of the KW Propaganda Commission and a reporter of the newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU; Ryszard Bradtke, teacher from Jastarnie; Zdzislaw Miodowski, member of the KW Culture Commission and director of PTLA [Polish Folklore Society]; Henryk Sitek, member of the KW Historical Commission; Jan Powierski, student representative of the University of Gdansk and Jerzy Glowczyk, director of the Teachers' Improvement Office in Gdansk.

There were three other participants in the deliberations: Emir Chazbijewicz, member of the KD [District Committee] Executive Board for Gdansk-Center City and a teacher; Konrad Zielinski, chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Section of the Naval Political Administration, and Krystyna Bobak, KM [City Committee] secretary of Sopot. These three added their own reports to the minutes of the proceedings.

The opinion dominated during the discussion that the shaping of the power ideological attitudes in society and especially among party members, is the decisive factor in forming a socialist consciousness, in securing complete unity within the party and in maintaining the party's role as leader of the working class. The ideological message must correspond to the routine of political activity. In the sphere of administration, one may not disregard the moods and opinions of the broad working masses, as was the case in the past, with a return to fat living for some.

Teachers and activists from young people's organizations focused attention on the dangers inherent in an incoherent education system and on the weakening

in school of the role and significance of the teacher himself. People spoke of shaping and educating young people in an unprofessional manner and of the need to render in a didactic manner correct facts on the subject of recent Polish history, indicating Poland's actual accomplishments by promoting the opportunity offered by the soon-to-be celebrated 40th Anniversary of the Polish People's Republic.

Quite a few speakers made reference to the so-called opinion-forming centers and their role in transforming social consciousness. The need was stressed to involve scientists and artists as active participants in the building of socialism. Also stressed was the need to provide the scientists and artists with suitable material conditions for existence.

The point was also made that the mass media also played an important role in shaping social consciousness. Those journalists who spoke and stressed the significant role of the press in stabilizing society, also spoke of their need to be allowed to act more independently; this would allow them to render more effectively the ideas and opinions of individual groups, i.e. especially those of the work forces. They made reference to the difficulty in collecting information which was the result of some difficult directors of certain plants.

Many discussion participants affirmed that it was necessary to increase the effectiveness and level of ideological training and to expand its reach so as to include the leading officials of plants and provide the suitable material base for this purpose.

Jozef Czyrek, a Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, also spoke during the discussion. In reference to the contents of the Central Committee's 13th Plenum, he stated that the main goal was the ideological-political consolidation of the party and the guarantee of the unity of its ranks and uniformity of its actions. The Central Committee secretary affirmed that the most important thing was for the party to shift from the defensive to the offensive. Without doing this, it is impossible to speak of actualizing the guiding role of the party in society. He added that it could not be a temporary task undertaken only as a result of inspiration from some recent Central Committee plenum; it had to be the constant practice of all party elements, confirmed in everyday activity in accordance with the ideology, politics and economics of the socialist state.

The plenary proceedings were closed with the adoption of a resolution delineating the tasks of the party provincial organization in implementing the resolutions of the PZPR Central Committee's 13th Plenum.

12247

CSO: 2600/338

# PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

## Party Reports-Elections Campaign in Community

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 9 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (wab): "The Reports-Elections Campaign in the Party; To Lead in the Community"]

[Text] The reports-elections campaign continues in workshop and enterprise organizations of the PZPR town echelon in Przemysl, which numbers some 4,700 members in 66 OOP [Departmental Party Organizations] and 136 POP [Basic Party Organizations]. The campaign was opened on 2 November by POP meetings in public schools Nos 1, 2, 10, and 13, and by the OOP meeting in the Provincial Internal Affairs Office. The reports-elections meetings in all the basic party elements will go on till 25 November; they have already been held in 34 OOPs and POPs. The PZPR conference in Mera-Polna is scheduled for 28 November, in the Transshipment Company for 29 November, in the Provincial Office for 1 December, and in the WUSW [Provincial Internal Affairs Office] a day later. The party reports-elections city conference will be held, according to schedule, on 17 December.

The ongoing meetings, where a comprehensive survey of the last term is analyzed, plans for the coming terms are outlined, and new leadership is elected, are accompanied by a matter-of-fact, concrete debate which concentrates on issues of the political and organizational buildup of the party, on greater effectiveness of its activities, and on how party organizations deal with the work force's concerns. The meetings provide an opportunity for reflection on the road recently covered by the party, and on its regaining its leading role in the society. In addition to intraparty issues, questions of wages, prices, and social and living-standard conditions of the working people, are among problems raised during the debate. The speakers stress, among others, the need to shape attitudes in such a way, that every party member serve as an example to be followed, that he set the path in his community.

## Active Members Needed in Party Campaign

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 9 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (hb): "The Reports-Elections Campaign in PZPR; Good Work Results Depend on Party Members' Activity"]

[Text] Yesterday the OOP in the Chief Engineer's Department of the Paris Commune Shipyard in Gdynia held its reports-elections meeting, attended by Stanislaw Bejger, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and first secretary of the PZPR KW [Provincial Committee] in Gdansk.

The OOP in the Chief Engineer's Department has 33 members, who represent mainly the leading cadres. It has a major impact on the pace and quality of all shipyard work. No wonder, then, that socioeconomic issues held prime place both in the executive board's report, presented by Andrzej Hinz, first secretary of the OOP, and in the following debate.

The economic difficulties of the country, which have a bearing on the situation in the shipyard, demand from party members active and genuine involvement in solving problems and overcoming difficulties. However, the attendance at the OOP's meetings has declined lately. Party training sessions do not pay enough attention to problems of the economic reform, and to organizational and economic problems of the shipyard. The report pointed out, therefore, that it is the duty of each party member to evaluate shortcomings in a matter-of-fact, honest way, in order to solve the shipyard problems easier and quicker, and to better implement planned targets. The greater the activity of party members, the better the economic accomplishments of the shipyard.

During the debate much attention was paid to the most difficult and most troublesome shipyard problems, including unsatisfactory productivity, wage questions, and excessive turnover of labor force. The matter-of-fact arguments presented by Czeslaw Pitas, first deputy director of the shipyard, who attended the meeting in the Chief Engineer's Department, were followed by speeches which dealt with the wages of some professional groups in the shipyard. The chief engineer then explained that an attempt was being made to introduce a wage policy which complies with the requirements of the economic reform, and to pay proper bonuses for efficient and honest work. Unfortunately, the system of bonuses awarded to technologists for reducing labor intensity, introduced on 1 September, did not pass the test. In addition to considerable wage hikes, increased labor intensity and deteriorated quality of production have also been registered. Wages, however, should contribute to better results in both areas. What was worse, unjustified absence has risen by 20 percent.

According to the chief engineer, not enough attention was being paid to relations with new workers, who join the shipyard community for the first time.

Stanislaw Bejger, too, took the floor to answer speakers in the debate. The KW first secretary declared that the sociopolitical and economic reality in the shipyard still requires further enhancement of the role and the prestige of party members. The Gdynia Commune plays a major role in the national

shipbuilding industry. All the elements of the party organization in the enterprise, including the OOP in the Chief Engineer's Department, where the leading cadres belong, should be actively involved in improving the economic situation of the shipyard, by raising the quality and productivity of work, and by implementing the thrift program. This closely relates to the wage level.

Stanislaw Bejger also discussed some current socioeconomic problems of the region and of the country, and replied to many questions.

Following the debate, a new leadership of the OOP was elected. Andrzej Hinz was reelected first secretary.

Delegates to the shipyard reports-elections conference were also elected, among them Zbigniew Biernat, first secretary of the KZ [enterprise committee], who also attended the meeting.

#### Elblag Campaign

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 9 Nov 83 p 2

[Article by MD: "In the Elblag Province: The PZPR Reports-Elections Campaign"]

[Text] Henryk Dabrowski, head of the Politico-Organizational Department in the PZPR KW, announced that the reports-elections campaign in party groups, as well as in OOP and POP in Elblag Province had began shortly after the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee. All over the province there are 126 party groups and 1,440 OOP and POP. Reports-elections meetings had already been held in 41 groups and in over 200 OOP and POP. The campaign was most advanced in the area covered by the Mlynary KG [Gmina Committee], where at the primary level it was already over. The halfway mark had been reached by the Braniewo KM [City Committee], while KM in Elblag and Kwidzyn were still in the introductory stage. Nonetheless the campaign and the basic level would be over by November. The first Gmina conference was to be held the following week in Ostaszewo, with the first city one, in Braniewo, for early December.

The attendance at party group meetings has oscillated between 75 and 100 percent. Between 30 and 70 percent of those present took part in debates. Out of 41 group leaders, 10 were elected to this post for the first time.

In OOP and POP meetings, attendance has been considerably higher than during the last campaign in 1981, and, as a rule, exceeded 75 percent, often reaching 100 percent. Changes at the posts of the first secretaries and among executive board members have oscillated around 30 percent. The meetings were much better prepared. The reports were matter-of-fact and dealt with the most essential issues, were critical in tone but not faultfinding. They contained an account of the party work and of PZPR members active in national councils, in PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] elements, and in promotion and enhancement of the new labor unions. Their professional qualifications and attitude in the workplace were also evaluated. Each POP was acquainted

during its meeting with the evaluation of its work, prepared by a superior echelon: it, too, had a matter-of-fact character, since it had been based on party documents and on talks with the aktiv, and was followed by guidelines for future work.

The reports, the aforementioned evaluations, and motions and remarks submitted during the debate, provide the basis for formulation of action programs of all POP in their new term. Such programs are oriented mainly toward increased efficiency and efficacy of party work in various communities.

During the reports-elections meetings, the main stream of the debates consisted of three groups of subjects: the socioeconomic, intraparty affairs and ideology. Dealing with economic issues, the speakers paid most attention to the functioning of the economic reform, and to raw materials procurement, which is an essential condition for increased production. In rural communities the relations in prices between various agricultural products, as well as between them and the prices of means of production, bought as a rule at contract prices, mostly prevailed.

#### Tarnobrzeg TPPR Reports-Elections Campaign

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 10 Nov 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by (z.fl.): "The Reports-Elections Campaign in the Tarnobrzeg TPPR [Polish-Soviet Friendship Association]"]

[Text] Yesterday, the Third Provincial Reports-Elections Conference of the TPPR was held in Tarnobrzeg. The debate was opened by Andrzej Stepień, chairman of the outgoing board, and was chaired by Urszula Smorawska; it was attended by nearly 100 delegates and guests, and among them, Enn J. Liimets, consul at the USSR Consulate General in Krakow; Tadeusz Jarocki, secretary of the PZPR KW; Jozef Kondek, secretary of the ZSL WK [Provincial Board]; Marta Kwasniowska, secretary of the SD WK; Tadeusz Orlof, secretary of the TPPR ZG [Main Board]; Zdzisław Pilecki, vice chairman of the PRON National Board; Mieczysław Kazmierczuk, member of the TPPR ZG; Tadeusz Bajkowski, chairman of the PRON RW [Provincial Council]; Adam Przybylski, vice chairman of the WRN [Provincial National Council]; as well as representatives of social and youth organizations and institutions, which cooperate with the TPPR.

In a festive mood, leading activists of the TPPR were awarded high state medals. Jan Kozyra received the Knight's Cross of the Resurrected Poland Order; Michalina Rodzen, the Cross of Merit in gold, and Zdzisław Calka, the Cross of Merit in silver. In addition, Zygmunt Mazur and Franciszek Paduch were awarded the medal "For Merits to Tarnobrzeg Province," and 17 other activists, honorary badges of the TPPR.

The debate's introductory report was read by Andrzej Stepień, the chairman of the outgoing ZW [Provincial Board], and the report of the Audit Commission by its chairman, Ryszard Barcz. Both in the reports and in the debate, in which between 10 and 20 delegates and guests took part, the impressive accomplishments of the association were presented; it has over 50,000 members in



Tarnobrzeg Province. Among the subjects raised were: ideopolitical mass action, work among workers and in rural communities, as well as culture-promoting activities which included, inter alia, convening festivals of Soviet songs, Soviet Film Days, gala concerts, soirees, popular science sessions, exhibitions and meetings, as well as work among high school students. The tourist exchange with the Soviet Union was reviewed, and the results of the recent reports-elections campaign in elements of the TPPR were summed up.

Major attention was paid to the work in commissions--workers, rural, youth and education, culture and propaganda--as well as in the lecturers' team, in the circle of graduates of Soviet universities, and in the founding committee of the Russian-Language Olympics. The most difficult period of 1981-1982 was often recalled: the anti-Soviet propaganda, then mounted by the extremist elements of Solidarity, had wrought heavy damage, especially among the youth. The mutually beneficial economic cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union was stressed, drawing on such examples as the Stalowa Wola steelworks, and the Sulphur Mining and Processing Enterprises. The assistance given us by the Soviets was mentioned with gratitude and which, it was pointed out, is the major premise for raising our country out of its economic crisis.

The speakers welcomed the preparation and voting of a rich program of cooperation and exchange between Tarnobrzeg Province and Vinnitsa Province in the Ukrainian SSR. The accomplishments of the association circles in various communities were shared around; the question how to make the work of the TPPR more attractive, and its impact more effective, was also discussed.

Enn J. Liimets, the Soviet consul; Tadeusz Jarocki, secretary of the PZPR KW, and Tadeusz Orlof, secretary of the TPPR ZG, highly praised in their speeches the TPPR's work in Tarnobrzeg Province.

The conference delegates elected the TPPR ZW of 65 members, the 7-member Audit Commission, and 13 delegates to the national congress of the TPPR. During the intermission, the first plenum of the new board was held; it elected its presidium of 19 members. Andrzej Stepień was reelected ZW chairman and vice chairmen are Władysław Dziadkowiec, Piotr Stawowy, and Andrzej Przybylski. Stanisław Malinowski is the secretary and Jan Kozyra, the treasurer.

The conference voted the action program of the TPPR ZW for 1983-87, and passed a resolution which declares, inter alia: "Unanimously and with determination, we raise our voice against the sinister machinations of imperialist forces and against their intended deployment of missiles in Western Europe. Wishing to live and work in peace, we call on all men of goodwill in the country and all over the world, to actively support the fight against forces which strive for the destruction of mankind. We warmly support the peace initiatives of the party and state leadership in the Soviet Union, formulated, inter alia, in the speech by Yuri Andropov, secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee. With force and determination we demand a return to the policy of detente and promotion of peace in Europe and all over the world, in compliance with the intentions of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe."

## Gdansk Shipyard in Campaign Conference

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 10 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (1): "The PZPR Reports-Elections Campaign: Conferences in the Shipping Lines and in the Lenin Shipyard"]

[Text] A reports-elections meeting was held yesterday in Gdynia by the PZPR OOP in the Polish Ocean Lines [PLO] reserve. It is the most numerous OOP in Poland, and has at present 410 members. The meeting was attended by a member of this organization, Stanislaw Bejger, alternate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee and first secretary of the PZPR KW in Gdansk.

The most essential problems of the enterprise, viewed in the light of the socio-economic situation in Gdansk Province and in the country, as well as ways and means of implementing the economic reform, were discussed during the debate. The need to bring about structural changes in the enterprise, the personnel policy, and the thrift program, were also mentioned.

In introducing the debate, Jozef Sowinski, first secretary of the PZPR KW in the PLO, declared that the meeting was supposed to sum up almost 3 years of work by the outgoing OOP leadership and to outline its tasks for the future. He pointed out that the nearly 3,000-man-strong party organization in the PLO has attentively received the decisions made by the 10th and the 13th plenums of the PZPR Central Committee, which had unambiguously laid out the tasks of party members in enterprises involved in the maritime economy.

Stanislaw Bejger began his contribution to the debate by outlining the ways the party implements its leading role in shipping. He also replied to proposals, how better to use the shipping facilities of the PLO, given the reduced turnover of the Polish foreign trade. In order to help line shipping, the Council of Ministers had decided to speed up modernization--a necessary factor in raising its competitiveness in world markets.

The alternate member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee then discussed the sociopolitical situation in the country and in Gdansk Province, stressing the ongoing normalization. He said that the economy is at present the principal frontline in the struggle of the entire party, since only by raising it can the living standards of the whole society be raised. He also spoke about the main premises of the central annual plan, and drew attention to the deepening payment crisis of the state, to the need to subsidize enterprises, as well as to the increased prices and outlays for social welfare.

The first secretary of the PZPR KW in Gdansk told members of the OOP about Poland's payment situation as regards her foreign creditors, underlining the need for larger exports.

The meeting elected 39 delegates to the enterprise reports-elections conference, among them Stanislaw Bejger, Andrzej Kukielko, secretary of the PZPR KM in Gdynia, and Jozef Sowinski. The new leadership of the OOP was also elected, with Marian Zeniuk being voted its first secretary.

## Lenin Shipyard Campaign

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 10 Nov 83 p 2

[Article by (A.Met): "At the K-2 Department in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk"]

[Text] Also yesterday, the reports-elections campaign among the shipyard party organizations was opened at the K-2 Department of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. The conference was attended by Leon Brancewicz, secretary of the PZPR KW in Gdansk.

The POP in the K-2 Department has at present 125 members, 50 percent of them workers. The submitted report discussed current innerparty and work problems of shipyard workers at the K-2.

It was pointed out that the most important goal of the party consists of forging a monolithic working class, thus every comrade has to be conscientious, disciplined and sensitive to human concerns. He also has to counteract with determination cases of wastage, bribery and favoritism. Consistent compliance with the right to criticize, as well as enforcing party guidelines, are also required. Wherever the workers are, the party must always be present.

During the last term, the effectiveness of the POP in the K-2 has found its expression, inter alia, in tighter ties between PZPR members, in active and involved comportment of foremen and managers who were party members, as well as in establishing a workshop working group for the economic reform, which systematically analyzed the implementation and the results of various economic decisions. The initiatives and the assistance rendered by the enterprise party organization in establishing a work force council and an enterprise element of the PRON, should be particularly mentioned.

A lot, however, remains to be done.

During the conference, much attention was paid to a detailed survey of the economic situation at the K-2 Department in view of the fulfilled production targets and the wages paid.

The conference elected a new leadership of the organization.

12485

CSO: 2600/355

## PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

## Radom Province Reports-Elections Conference

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 9 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (bk): "Friendship and Cooperation of Fraternal Peoples--an Important Factor of Preserving Peace; Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference of the TPPR [Polish-Soviet Friendship Association] in Radom"]

[Text] The Second Provincial Reports-Elections Conference of the TPPR was held yesterday in Radom. Aside from several dozen delegates from all over the province, representatives of political-administrative authorities were also present: Zofia Grzyb, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee; Bogdan Prus, first secretary of the PZPR KW [provincial committee], Krzysztof Szewczak, chairman of the SD provincial committee; Bogdan Choros, vice chairman of the ZSL provincial committee; Col Edward Jedruszewski, chairman of the WRN [Provincial People's Council]; Kazimierz Bukowski, vice chairman of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] provincial council, representatives of city authorities and youth organizations. Also in attendance were Stefan Nawrot, secretary general of the Main Board of the TPPR; Mieczyslaw Grudzien, chairman of the Office of Veterans' Affairs, and Soviet guests Jurij Rindin, counselor, and Alexander Udowienko, secretary, of the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw.

On behalf of the outgoing authorities of the TPPR provincial board, Danuta Grabowska opened the proceedings. The years of the current term of the TPPR provincial board, especially its second half, are one of the very difficult periods of Polish history. Vigorous political struggle in defense of socialism was waged, coupled with a struggle against a widespread, aggressive and uncompromising anti-Soviet campaign. The work of TPPR chapters was on a correct course; however, diligent dissemination of up-to-date information on Polish-Soviet relations was lacking. The preparedness of our association for ideological work turned out to be too weak. Anti-Soviet propaganda was not always successfully counteracted in a proper fashion.

However, due to selfless fellow members, TPPR activists of long duration, the reports-elections campaign was successfully carried out. This conference will conclude the campaign. The provincial chapter has not interrupted its activities for even a minute. However, many new inexperienced functionaries have

joined the association, and so much greater will be the responsibilities of the newly elected provincial board. Persistent and consistent work for the cause of perpetuating Polish-Soviet friendship is also needed. Such work must be carried out by all elements. Modes of activity, especially among young people should be further diversified.

Further on, the report of the oversight commission of the provincial board was presented. The provincial TPPR has a membership of 70,455, out of which more than 24,000 are young people. A total of 920 TPPR circles are active in the province, out of which 614 are school circles. It was stressed in the course of the discussion that Polish-Soviet relations are an unassailable value and a safeguard of peace in Europe and in the world. The first secretary of the PZPR KW, Bogdan Prus, addressed the audience with similar words. "The October [Revolution] opened new prospects for our country, which were reinforced by the battle of Lenino," he said, "and the victory over Hitlerite fascism created favorable conditions for socialist construction in our country." The first secretary emphasized the immense importance for our country of the economic, scientific and cultural cooperation between Poland and USSR. On behalf of the political authorities, he conveyed to the delegates his wishes for the best results in their work for the cause of perpetuating Polish-Soviet friendship. Similar wishes were conveyed to the audience by the counselor of the USSR Embassy, Jurij Rindin. Subsequently, the provincial board, the oversight commission and delegates to the national convention were elected. Sixty-one persons were elected to the provincial board, 7 persons to the oversight commission and 18 as delegates to the 11th TPPR Convention. PZPR KW Secretary Danuta Grabowska was reelected chairperson of the provincial board. Leszek Slomkowski became secretary.

Soviet Embassy Secretary Alexander Udowienko praised highly the work of the Radom TPPR chapter. Participants of the conference adopted a resolution against the policy jeopardizing peace in the world.

The adaption of a resolution completed the conference.

In the course of the proceedings, the most distinguished TPPR activists were honored with state and regional decorations. Bronislaw Buczkowski, secretary of the city-gmina TPPR board in Kozienice received the Cavalier Cross of the Order of Rebirth of Poland. Zofia Czech from Radom received the Golden Cross of Merit; 2 persons, silver crosses of merit; 20 persons, honorary golden TPPR badges, and 6 persons, "Distinguished in Service to Radom Province" badges. War veterans were also presented with medals for the defense of Moscow and of Stalingrad. Delegations laid wreaths at the memorial of Soviet soldiers in the T. Kosciuszko park and at the Soviet military cemetery.

## Analysis of Local Party Activity

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 9 Nov 83 p 3

[Interview with Zenon Kawecki, recipient of the GAZETA ROBOTNICZA award, by Henryk Smolak: "What Kind of a Party Member Does One Without Courage Make"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Can one receive a state decoration for party activity?

[Answer] In my opinion, it should be given for any activity which serves society. Party activity meets this criterion.

[Question] How long have you been a lecturer?

[Answer] I have been a party lecturer for 25 years. It began in the Slupiec mine in 1958. However, I had learned to talk to the people, to win them over for socialism, to persuade them earlier, in the ZMP [Union of Polish Youth]. Later, when I was called "to serve Poland," I became a political deputy company commander. This was also a wonderful experience for me, which determined my future interests and attitudes.

[Question] Have you been honored by a state decoration over the 25 years of party lecturer activities?

[Answer] No. I have received commendations, diplomas and twice a memorial medal for propagating Marxism...

[Question] And also this year the award of GAZETA ROBOTNICZA for propagating party ideology and policy. After all, you have received the Order of the Labor Banner.

[Answer] Indeed. I received it by virtue of the Miner's Charter.

[Question] Are you a miner? Does it run in the family?

[Answer] By no means! I come from Wrzesnia. After the war, the mining community was reinforced not only by Silesians, but also by people from various corners of the world, primarily the "Frenchmen" and the "Germans."

[Question] Do you mean professions or ethnic backgrounds?

[Answer] Professions. I am talking about those who sought seasonal employment before the war in France, Germany, Belgium and ended up in mines. The majority of them became first generation miners. After the war, they returned to their own country. Still the rapidly developing mines had too few people. Then boys like me who had no idea whatsoever about this profession responded to the ZMP appeal and went to work in coal mining. The ZMP managed to unite young people, to teach them camaraderie and friendship. Since my friends were among the first to enroll, I also signed up, though mining did not attract me.

[Question] Do you regret it?

[Answer] No. I am doing what I like. I have come to like the mining community.

[Question] So, you ended up in the Walbrzych basin, in Slupiec?

[Answer] Yes, I started out as a hauler. Now I am a chief banksman in Lubin. I transferred to copper mining.

[Question] You must have received some education in order to be promoted.

[Answer] The ZMP could encourage young people to study, I graduated from an evening vocational school of mining.

[Question] Was it difficult?

[Answer] It sure was. I belong to the generation which in principle was educated by correspondence, in the way of sacrifice and self-denial. I graduated from the WUML [Provincial University of Marxism-Leninism] in Wroclaw, from the department of sociology in the WSNS [Higher School of Social Sciences] in Warsaw and subsequently from the Institute of Political Sciences of the University of Warsaw--by correspondence.

[Question] How can one keep it all in balance? The household, the family, professional activity, social activity, studies...

[Answer] It so happened that during my studies I also had to put in a certain number of hours at the construction site of the building where I now live. My colleagues did not allow me even a single extra hour off.

[Question] You did not answer the "how" question.

[Answer] This is the issue of persistence, inner discipline, self-abnegation. It is the issue of understanding, sympathy and moral support from the family. I owe a lot to my wife and children. They accepted my attitude, decisions and activity and more than once took over my household chores. Finally, this is the issue of planning your own time, pencil in hand.

[Question] What fields of knowledge interest you as a lecturer?

[Answer] I have always been interested in social sciences. I offer lectures mainly in the fields of ideology, religion, party program and policy.

[Question] Therefore, you teach theory and practice of socialist construction.

[Answer] I have always primarily taught my comrades to assume party attitudes.

[Question] This is too general a statement. Would you please specify?

[Answer] The person who cannot get up the courage to publicly self-identify himself, to present outwardly party ideology and policy has no right to call

himself a party member. The PZPR is not a mutual adoration society but rather an organized political force active in our society and implementing class goals. This defines the duties and tasks of every party member, which, after all, were assumed voluntarily. It is not my membership card that makes me a party member, but rather projecting the ideology of the party outwardly, to the people, by struggling for the implementation of the PZPR program and policy. This is what I taught the others to do. I have also adhered to this principle, though Solidarity extremists threatened me on the phone and even set fire to my apartment.

[Question] I have heard about such an incident. I did not know you were involved.

[Answer] My apartment was not the only one to be set on fire. But I also had other experiences with Solidarity. Earlier, they had requested me to deliver lectures for them.

[Question] Did they want to study Marxism?

[Answer] Marxism, no. They were interested in the technique and organization of efficient activity. I declined. I found myself a different occupation in those dramatic times--with a group of comrades, we organized meetings with party members and nonparty people in enterprises during lunch breaks. We would discuss any topic.

[Question] Were you successful in persuading people?

[Answer] Then emotions got the upper hand over reason and demagoguery over experience.

[Question] Indeed, even a great many party activists went through a crisis. They lacked courage and knowledge of social processes, their prior ideological and political indoctrination notwithstanding.

[Answer] There came a time in the 1970s when I noticed that establishing contact with the audience was becoming increasingly difficult. I began to doubt whether what we were doing was what they expected. At that point, I understood that the people were expecting more organizational and concrete activity and less talk by the party.

[Question] However, concrete actions should be grounded in theory. Marxist parties have been doing that since their inception.

[Answer] Certainly, but many forms of political indoctrination did not work out for us, especially self-education. Everyone received a textbook, we indicated the readings required to prepare for seminars--and not a whole lot came out of it. Self-education calls for persistence, independent work and intellectual effort. Perhaps, we are lacking these. It is much more convenient to listen to what others have to say and to show off later by asking questions which often do not have anything to do with the topic. We are big on discussions, especially in a social setting, but on the principle "I know better" rather than on the basis of factual arguments.



[Question] I believe that this is not solely an issue of "national character," but also of errors in training and indoctrination in previous years, especially in the field of methodology.

[Answer] I also think so. Indoctrination in the 1970s was not too closely linked to reality, to the practice of socialist construction. There were too few discussions which would dispel doubts and convince people of the correctness and historic regularity of social development. In those years, the party program was talked about in somewhat abstract terms, without referring to Marxist theory and historical experience. Even when such attempts were made, concrete statements were supplanted by generalities and slogans. It is worthwhile to recall that in order not to repeat the shortcomings of that period.

[Question] Ideological-political indoctrination in the party was comprehensive in theory, but in reality many comrades failed to take part in it.

[Answer] This was the case. I know many people in executive positions, both administrative and economic, who played party activists. However, in their professional practice they do not resort to political language. They think that politics is someone else's responsibility. In their opinion, good exemplary fulfillment of professional duty suffices to qualify them as party members, even activists. This is not enough. There are even such circles, where the use of the address "comrade" outside of party meetings is treated as socially tactless. It was primarily this group that did not appreciate the value of permanently improving their ideological and political knowledge.

[Question] What method do you use as a lecturer?

[Answer] Formidable preparation for classes is the most important prerequisite of efficiency. In order to establish contact with the audience, it is necessary to know the milieu, its peculiarities, issues and doubts. I have always believed that no questions should be taboo. Doubts must be cleared together in the course of a free discussion, with the entire audience participating. The lecturer must prove his involvement, his emotional attitude toward the topic. Otherwise, the audience is inclined to believe that he rattles off his topic with no conviction, on orders. This facilitates the atmosphere of indifference. This is a wonderful method to ruin the topic.

[Question] In other words, not everybody can be a lecturer, since this is also an issue of personal predispositions?

[Answer] This is true. I have noticed that lecturers are largely people who are over middle age. We should give thought to attracting the young, the skillful and the talented to this activity. Perhaps, they can be found; after all, so many people graduate in the political sciences and WUMLs.

[Question] It follows from our interview that what you have been doing for more than 25 years brings you personal satisfaction.

[Answer] Certainly. I already said with regard to my professional activity that I always try to do what lies close to my heart, what I really like.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

#### TPPR Reports-Elections Campaign

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 9 Nov 83 p 3

[Interview with the chairperson of the Poznan chapter of the TPPR, Maria Rynkiewicz, by Tadeusz Bartkowiak, on the occasion of the forthcoming 12th Provincial Reports-Elections Conference; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] In the course of the expiring term, in the years 1978 through 1983, the association has been surviving all the consequences of the August turning point, both political and organizational. How would you describe them?

[Answer] The initial 2 years, starting in 1978, were marked by very vigorous activities and high attendance at all functions. However, organizational activity was not always coupled with political efficiency. Nonetheless, the wide propagation of the idea of Polish-Soviet friendship was real at the time. The second period began in August 1980, it was accompanied by the consequences of the menacing atmosphere and mounting anarchy. We noted tendencies toward restricting the scope of subjective and objective activities. In the political sphere, the association became an active participant of the struggle taking place in our society. We did not refrain from vigorous and inspiring actions. These actions were focused on a realistic evaluation of Polish-Soviet relations in their entirety. Their effectiveness was apparent against the background of frequently displayed passive attitudes toward many of these problems. The third period began with the imposition of martial law. At that time, the need arose for activities perpetuating in the social consciousness, the truth about the real scope of Soviet aid to Poland in the period of overcoming the crisis and about earlier facts and arguments testifying to the imperturbable foundations of brotherhood and friendship between the peoples of Poland and the Soviet Union. Creating such an atmosphere in Poznan Province was possible due to the vigorous activity of TPPR functionaries as well as the support from other elements of the ideological front.

[Question] However, in the period in question the number of members of your organization diminished appreciably.

[Answer] This is true. Our membership of 118,389 persons decreased by more than one half. Currently, 27,696 members belong to 797 personal circles, whereas 336 school circles of the TPPR have 22,799 students. We also have 760 collective members.

[Question] The reports-elections campaign, however, has shown that the TPPR aktiv did not fail. It is also a common feeling that the motions suggested for the forthcoming provincial conference prove the political maturity of the functionaries of your organization.

[Answer] As early as January 1981, the association drew essential conclusions from political developments in the country. The policy in effect to this day was set at the meeting of the main board: active participation in the socialist renewal of the country which should be and is coupled with the strengthening of Polish-Soviet friendship. This policy has gained total acceptance among our aktiv, obviously, along with keeping to the principle of wide propagation among mass membership. The release in October 1982 of a statement by the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee entitled "Basic Assumptions and Tasks of Strengthening Polish-Soviet Friendship in the Social Consciousness" was an essential development. It follows from this statement that our association is one of the elements of promulgating and strengthening friendship between these two peoples. Cooperation of all organizations and political parties is needed in this field.

[Question] Which issues were addressed with special attention in this statement?

[Answer] Primarily, the shaping of historical knowledge of Polish-Soviet relations, propagation of the commonality of the ideological goals of the PZPR and CPSU as well as the peace-loving policy of the USSR and its significance for the security of Poland. In this context, we paid much attention to spreading appreciation of the importance of Polish-Soviet economic cooperation. It should also be borne in mind that the statement of the Politburo mentioned above stressed the need to custom-design the methods depending on the particular community which this drive should reach out to. At present, we believe that further improvement in the activity of the TPRP provincial board is one of the tasks for the provincial reports-elections conference.

[Question] I would not be making a mistake by stating that the peculiarity of the expiring term is incomparable to any previous period.

[Answer] This is true. Since August 1980, the association has been verifying the effectiveness of its work in intense political struggle. Anti-Sovietism was one of the main fronts on which the adversaries mounted an attack. Therefore, having some hindsight now we can point out the activities which have worked out and should be continued and permanently improved. Along with competitions, olympiads and pageants promoting Russian songs and language, along with celebrations of anniversaries which make it possible to demonstrate friendship, lecture work, among other things has been tremendously important. "The Appeal to Polish Society" was a verification of attitudes of sorts; as is known, representatives of all communities signed it. This document was an expression of moral support for those social forces in the country which embraced alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union. Of course, we are aware of the fact that the system of meetings with Soviet people requires further dissemination and streamlining. I mean not only the promotion of Soviet culture, not only the sojourn in our country of the groups of activists of the TPRP [Soviet-Polish Friendship Association] or veterans of the Great Patriotic War. I mean an increasingly further reaching promotion of meetings and widening of their scope with the assistance of the representatives of the land of Soviets sojourning in Poland.

[Question] The experience of the last years has shown that knowledge of the USSR and multifaceted Polish-Soviet relations is still insufficient. What has been done in order to rectify this state of affairs?

[Answer] The provincial board, meeting the interests of the youth in particular, has set up many meetings and seminars where lectures were read on topics such as "Polish-Soviet Economic Cooperation" and "Political Relations Between Poland and the USSR Between the Wars and After the War." We have set up the Comprehensive Friendship School for Youth. It has been active since March of this year. The format is that of periodical meetings with students of schools above the elementary level. During these classes, lecturers of various professions examine the issues of the history and mutual relations between Poland and the USSR. The students of the comprehensive school have had an occasion to revise their opinions as to the topic in question. I will also add that the Russian-language competitions for elementary school students, the Russian-language olympics for the high school age bracket, and the college pageants of Russian-language fluency and knowledge of the land of Soviets are a success. In ideological-propaganda work we have devoted much attention to propagating the culture of nationalities of the USSR. In the field of promoting Soviet cinema art, annual "Days of Soviet Films" are the main event. The same is true of sculpture and tourism.

[Question] What about the work in individual communities?

[Answer] It has been quite uneven among the working class. In some enterprises, meetings were not held, membership dues were not collected, convocation of many functions was given up. However, in the years 1981-1982 the working class *aktiv* began to resurface. We organized consultative meetings of the representatives of TPPR enterprise boards. Attendance at the meetings with provincial board lecturers increased. In the working class community, Clubs of Polish-Soviet Economic Cooperation were reactivated. I would also mention the rural community, where among other things, the "Knowledge Strengthens Friendship" competition, traditional for years, was a big success.

[Question] Which events sponsored by the association between 1980 and 1982 merit special mention?

[Answer] There have been many of these. We should include the celebrations of anniversaries of the October Revolution, topical seminars on Polish-Soviet cooperation, various competitions and *aktiv* meetings. In Poznan, we hosted a delegation of the Northern Group of Troops of the Soviet Army. Staff members of the Consulate General of the USSR participated in meetings with the *aktiv*. These examples show the versatility of initiatives directed at various segments of social consciousness.

[Question] It would be appropriate to recall the activity of the Social Committee for the Construction of the Memorial Park of Brotherhood in Arms and Polish-Soviet Friendship in the Citadel.

[Answer] I must state with satisfaction that the builders of the Memorial Park, TPPR members and sympathizers, did not call it quits despite the difficult situation of past years. Terrain along the moats and parkways has been

landscaped, pavement has been upgraded in the Alleys of Republics, Brotherhood in Arms, Citadelowcy and 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Army. The mausoleum of French soldiers of 1870-1871 has been renovated, as well as the mausoleum of Russian soldiers who died in World War I. In the vicinity of the Memorial of Heroes an obelisk dedicated to the memory of the USSR Marshal Chuikov, an honorary citizen of Poznan, has been erected.

[Question] I believe that the analysis of situation in the association itself and in its environment makes it possible to draw conclusions, which are the bases for preparations for the best possible progress of the provincial conference, scheduled for 10 November.

[Answer] In light of the developments in the country, the situation in the provincial TPPR chapter should be considered favorable. However, in order to increase the efficiency of all modes and methods of activity, the scope and quality of propaganda publications for boards and circles should be improved and the functioning of links among particular communities of the association, such as the working class, campus and the school communities should be streamlined. We will have to extend special care to the youth community. Organizational work of the provincial board requires improvement. Increasing the volume and varying the forms of membership exchange programs between the TPPR and TPRP will be one of the most important tasks.

[Interviewer] Thank you for your interview.

#### Basic Party Elements Campaign

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 9 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (am): "Efficient Actions Strengthen Party Authority"]

[Text] For a long time, employees of the roller shop at the MIFAMA plant in Mikolow have been watching full containers tossed onto delivery vehicles with little concern for the merchandise inside... New rollers have been damaged. Hence the proposal was made to mechanize loading. The proposal is around, but the implementation is sluggish. This is upsetting, and primarily so to party members who came up with the plan.

This is one of many examples proving that issues taken on by party organizations follow from the feelings and opinions of the communities where they work. The authority of the party is built on the basis of the response they get in real life. Therefore, it is vital to evaluate astutely the efficiency of exacting justified requests in the course of this reports-elections campaign. It is characteristic of many departmental organizations not to reduce their role to that of formulating and tabling a motion.

For example, in the aforementioned MIFAMA, independently of the efforts of management to implement the suggestions of the OOPs [departmental party organizations] of the building and assembly shop and the mechanical treatment shop on augmenting the work force, a team has been set up at the executive board of the basic party organization [POP] for the purpose of monitoring cadre reserves due to labor management and seeking employees among the retired.

At the OOP meeting of the quality control department in the Bedzin iron and steel plant, the members criticized the failure to fill the vacancy for a sample collector in the laboratory, which frustrates the operation of the entire department. The party organization suggested to the management that they undertake talks with employees who had retired early, treating this as a duty of party members.

In that same shop, the lack of representatives from all shifts in the collective charged with solving labor relations problems was a small problem only at a superficial glance. On the suggestion of the OOP, a meeting of the work force was called at which new people were added to the collective.

#### Solutions Satisfactory to the Work Force Can Be Found

Salary problems come up very often at the meetings. Here is the first example from the Bedzin steel mill. Employees of quality control voiced reservations about the incentive system that was introduced and approached the OOP executive board in the matter. The fact that the executive board was thanked for taking care of this case at the reports-elections meeting proves that a solution satisfactory to the employees has been found.

Salary disputes acquired a wider scope in the DEFUM Heavy Machine Tool Combine in Dabrowa Gornicza. In this case, the financial situation of the enterprise was affected by the cutoff of traditional markets in the West due to the restrictions imposed by the Washington administration. The party organization requested in numerous proposals to undertake actions aimed at maximum utilization of equipment and labor in order to couple the effort to achieve more attractive salary levels with increments in production. The OOP of the technical support shop spearheaded this measure by outlining the contours of changes conforming to the expectations of the work force. The search for new customers in the socialist countries was also accompanied by the widening of the scope of machine repair services. The same OOP pointed out examples of reserves in equipment utilization. One can say that the implementation of the suggestions of the party organization was an important influence in removing the air of uncertainty with regard to the future of the enterprise and in this way slowed down the outflow of labor.

Of course, social matters are very frequently discussed at party meetings. This is the most sensitive indicator of the efficiency of party activity in the community. Workers of RYBNIK power plant awaited the reactivation of the enterprise housing cooperative for a long time. A beginning was made less than half a year ago, due to the efforts of the party organization.

Party organizations in some instances have to find a partner from outside the plant in order to solve many problems. For example, miners at the Siemianowice mine state at meetings that bread from a "giant" [bakery] happens to be just bad. The Spolem Consumer Cooperative Enterprise was approached in the matter, to no avail.

One of the departmental organizations in DEFUM suggested that the State Environmental Protection Inspectorate elaborate programs and forecasts of environmental protection on the basis of systematic studies of pollution in the city.

Taking such problems to the floor of people's councils via council members who belong to party organizations is what the latter can do in their domain. It has been stated at reports-elections meetings in enterprise party organizations that it is important for party members to convey the opinions of their community to the institutions having pertinent responsibilities.

#### Individual Assignments for Every Party Member

Involvement of all party members influences crucially the efficiency of activity of party organizations. This view has been taken in evaluating the implementation of resolutions and suggestions regarding internal party matters. The OOP of auxiliary shops in MIFAMA evaluated critically the efficiency of its actions in this regard. The program of actions for the next term obligates the OOP to assign individual party duties with a view to promoting activity in implementing the economic reform, savings and anti-inflationary programs and the development of work with the youth. OOP meetings in Siemianowice mine drew the same conclusions. Special emphasis is laid on the dependence between the power of the party and the thoroughness of fulfilling the tasks assigned. The assertive attitude toward those who do not meet the basic requirements of party discipline is firming up. In certain cases, reports-elections meetings decided to cancel memberships of passive members. The resolutions bring up the issue of continuing the process of evaluation of party posture.

In Bielsko-Biala Province, first meetings of POPs are already underway in Polkap in Skoczow, the fittings plant in Bielsko and the Bielsk Bezałin Cable and Belt plant.

In Bezałin economic problems as well as those of political work were the center of attention.

In the Andrychow Cotton Industry Andropol Enterprise OOP meetings are underway. Much attention is being paid to making the form of ideological indoctrination more attractive and to drawing young party members to more active political work in the enterprise and community.

#### Preparations for Enterprise Conferences

The reports-elections campaign in Czestochowa Province is entering the decisive stage. So far, meetings have been held in about 80 percent of POPs and more than 50 percent of OOPs. The first enterprise committee conference will be held on Thursday 10 December in the Machine Building Combine in Klobuck. One hundred delegates representing the work force of more than 600 will attend.

Detailed analysis of the implementation of suggestions made during the previous campaign and a review of fulfillment of the resolutions of the 1981 enterprise party conference were an important item in the discussion at the meetings of 16 OOPs in the combine.

"We entered nine items in the resolution of the previous enterprise conference," says Wladislaw Jurczak, secretary of the enterprise committee, "eight have been carried out, we are working on one."

"With regard to economic matters, the conference suggested a decrease in production costs through lowering shop markups and better utilization of machinery and equipment. Carrying out this resolution in, for example, the building and repair shop means a reduction in shop cost from 650 percent in 1981 and the first quarter of 1982 to 243 percent over the 9 months of this year."

A very essential suggestion of the 1981 enterprise conference concerned the strict reporting of suggestions made at the meetings and the duty of the principals to respond at the next meeting. In November of last year, a review conference of the enterprise party organization found that the suggestion was not being fully implemented. After the conference, the situation has improved drastically. Shortcomings occur infrequently.

"We will dwell at length upon the implementation of suggestions made by party members and of resolutions of conferences and plenary sessions of our organization in the report of the executive board of the KZ [plant committee]," states the first secretary of the PZPR KZ, Bogdan Jagoda.

9761

CSO: 2600/354



POLAND

BRIEFS

FORMER SOLIDARITY MEMBERS SURRENDER--A communique has been published today on the surrender of persons who conducted political underground activities before the lifting of martial law. In Czestochowa, chairman of the section committee of the former Solidarity union at the Polmo car equipment factory in Praszka who distributed antistate leaflets came out of hiding. In Radom, six workers from the Walter metal factory who took part in underground structures of this union gave themselves up. So far, 917 persons have given themselves up under the amnesty provisions. The law, which expires at the end of the year, ensures avoidance of liability. [Text] [LD261433 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 25 Dec 83]

CSO: 2600/463

MAMULA DEFENDS DRAFT MILITARY BUDGET IN FEDERAL CHAMBER

AU221142 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2318, 15 Dec 83 pp 2,3

["Complete" text of speech by Admiral Branko Mamula at a session of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber on 7 December explaining the budget of the Yugoslav People's Army for 1984]

[Text] In the draft budget of the Federation for 1984 the first place in expenditures is taken by expenditures for financing the program and tasks of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] next year. In this connection, I would like to inform the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber about the elements on the basis of which the Federal Secretariat for National Defense proposed the planned volume of financial means for the YPA needs in 1984.

We proceeded, first and foremost, from an assessment of the military-political situation in the world, and especially in Europe and the Mediterranean, and from the established principal objectives in the policy of the development and modernization of the YPA adopted in the modified and improved mid-term YPA Development Plan up to 1985, which has been adapted to the existing conditions and economic possibilities of our country.

The present exceptionally complex and uncertain international military-political situation, with the consequential need constantly to strengthen the overall defense capability of our country, makes it impossible to substantially change the objectives in next year's YPA draft budget; nor will it be possible to do that in the ensuing years either, even though we fully understand our economic difficulties.

It is an undeniable fact that virtually all the areas of international political and economic relations are in the grip of a profound crisis. This applies particularly to the relations between the great powers and the blocs, which pose a serious threat to world peace and security. Unfortunately, this crisis has been going on too long. It is getting worse and is increasingly taking on the characteristics of the cold-war period. Even worse, it comes at a time when far more numerous and destructive nuclear and conventional weapons have been piled up, while modern technology provides diverse prospects for extending the arms race in all dimensions, both on earth and in space.

The strategies of the great powers base the realization of their global and regional aims and interests increasingly on predominant military power and the

use of military power which is assuming most diverse forms, up to direct military interventions.

At the same time a further intensification of mutual lack of confidence between the great powers has occurred and most of the established channels of international negotiations and understanding have been paralyzed. A few days ago the talks between the United States and the USSR in Geneva were broken off and the installation of American intermediate-range missiles began in Europe. This has provoked, and it is certain that it will provoke further countermeasures on the other side.

We must reckon with the fact that the continuation of the present negative tendencies, primarily the intensified bloc rivalry and the arms race, could produce a critical level of tension and could increase the risks of wide-scale armed conflicts, which have been kept under control so far. World military spending registered an unprecedented growth. In 1983 it reached the alarming level of \$882 billion, which represents a growth of over 24 percent over 1982.

Although the deeper causes of this military-political situation lie in the sociopolitical and economic contradictions of the modern world, the confrontation of the great powers and blocs and their struggle for supremacy, extension, and vying for the spheres of interest represent one of its essential characteristics. Bearing in mind the characteristic and course of sociopolitical and economic trends and the prospects for development of the situation in the individual regions, this confrontation may become even more stressed.

The fact that the arms race and the growth of the military might of the great powers and of the blocs threaten mainly the nonaligned and other developing countries is particularly unwelcome. Its consequence is the creation of new focal points of crisis, military interventions and the outbreak of local wars. Because of the threat to their independence and freedom, these countries are forced to arm themselves more quickly, using resources allocated for their economic and general social development. This process leads to a further aggravation of social problems in many countries and to the deepening of basic contradictions, and creates an unstable situation suitable for the so-called "indirect approach" and the application of special warfare methods.

A direct threat to the security of nonbloc countries stems from the rapid development of the rapid deployment force which by its strength, equipment, and mobility is assuming impressive dimensions.

Logically, we are interested most in the state of relations in Europe and in the Mediterranean, which has a direct impact on our security. It is obvious that Europe continues to be the center of the arms race, although the majority of the most modern armed forces of the two blocs are already concentrated on its territory.

In addition to a distinct increase in the nuclear forces resulting from the introduction of medium-range missiles, large quantities of most modern means of conventional military technology are being introduced into the armed forces.

At the same time the cost of modern weapons and military equipment continues to rise. The cost of a modern fighter-bomber has increased to \$21 million over the \$8 million price of the previous generation. The price of a modern tank is \$1.7 to \$2.2 million, while a tank of the previous generation cost less than \$500,000.

The installation of the first medium-range missiles in Europe has already caused a considerable deterioration in relations between the great powers and blocs. It is certain that their continued installation will cause further deterioration in the international political climate, as well as in the internal political situation in many countries. All this leads to further degradation of security in Europe.

From a military viewpoint, as a result of introducing new nuclear missile forces in the European theater, the level of armament of not only nuclear arms but also other kinds of arms will be increased. The further nuclearization of Europe, and in this connection the qualitative increase in the arms of the military groups on the European theater, including the areas immediately around our country, creates new problems for our country's defense.

The situation in the Middle East and in the Eastern Mediterranean is also developing unfavorably. The internal conflict in Lebanon, coupled with the interference and military intervention by foreign countries, threaten to divide that country. The worsening situation is considerably contributed to by the tragic conflict within the PLO. However, it cannot be ruled out that, as a result of military pressure on Syria, this crisis could escalate into a conflict of wider dimensions with all the accompanying dangers, not only to peace in that area, but to the security of the countries around that region. Any major shift in the balance of forces in that area has an inevitable impact on the military and political situation in the wider surrounding area, including the Balkans. The situation created as a result of the recent secession of the Turkish part of Cyprus also has an impact on our security. The inevitable consequence of that unilateral and illegal act is to worsen security in the Balkans and to step up military activities in our neighborhood.

The continuation of the Iraq-Iran war, which, to all appearances, will threaten peace in a wider area on a long-term basis, in view of the constantly present danger of the internationalization of this conflict, also continues to pose a serious problem.

The Balkans has also begun to attract more attention, both in connection with the situation in the Middle East and because of the developments in individual countries, primarily in Albania. The purges and the liquidations there indicate that the internal crisis in that country is getting worse. At the same time the Albanian leadership continues to meddle in the crudest possible way in our internal affairs. With this sort of conduct, Albania, objectively speaking, is initiating a crisis that can be very dangerous for the security in the Balkans and much further afield.

The recent statements by some senior Bulgarian military leaders, which revive the well-known negative stands about Macedonian national history and about the

independence of the Macedonian nation, are not in keeping with the principles adopted at Helsinki or with the policy of developing good neighborly relations and cooperation. At the same time this calls into question the proclaimed objectives, initiatives and activities of Bulgaria concerning peace and good neighborly relations in the Balkans. Consistent to its peace-loving and non-aligned policy, our country will continue to work for the development of good relations with all, especially neighboring countries, on the principles of respect for sovereignty and noninterference in their internal affairs.

Although they do not meet with corresponding understanding and respect of the great powers, the activity and efforts of the nonaligned countries and other numerous democratic and peace-loving forces to overcome the current dangerous state of international affairs, to continue disarmament talks, to restore mutual confidence, and to resolve problems peacefully are encouraging. Everything else would lead to a catastrophe. To this end, at the coming Stockholm Conference on Strengthening Confidence, Security and Disarmament in Europe, all European non-aligned and neutral countries indicated that they will make maximum efforts to restore mutual confidence and to resume the East-West dialogue.

We are watching carefully all the developments in military-political relations, and we monitor the significance and the role given to the military factor in the implementation of the political strategy of those forces in the world with aspirations of conquest.

The wars and military interventions since the end of World War II have undoubtedly confirmed that the countries with inadequate, poorly equipped, and untrained armed forces, and an unstable internal situation were frequently victims of the aggressive forces that exist in today's world.

In this acute international situation we must not lag behind to any substantial degree in the combat training and technical equipping of our armed forces, because well-equipped, modern armed forces, as Comrade Tito always used to stress, represent a guarantee of peace along our borders; and without peace there is no freedom or unhampered socialist construction in our country. In view of this and of the complex economic situation in the country, we adapted the YPA development plans to the existing conditions and to realistic economic possibilities. As you know, not since 1976 has the YPA budget matched the percentage of our national income originally allocated to it. For this reason we had to make great efforts to insure that this did not cause serious delays in the implementation of our program of modernization and combat build-up, which could jeopardize the implementation of the basic development objectives and of the YPA.

In 1983, a very widespread and intensive activity was carried out on the further building of the concept of all-people's defense and social self-protection. Ways have been sought to adapt this activity even more to changes and realizations reached through our own practice, on experiences, achievements, and prospects of the socialist self-managing social development, on the experiences and characteristics of modern wars and on estimates and analyses of the long-term trend of the military factor in the world.

In the implementation of the all-people's defense and social self-protection concept and of the organization of our defense and self-protection system, measures were taken and activities pursued that helped to raise the defense capability of our society to a level that guarantees mobilization and involvement of the entire defense potential of our society. Significant results were attained in the development of the armed forces this year--despite the unfavorable international military-political conditions and internal difficulties, and especially because of the complex economic situation--although they were not the same as we had planned at the beginning of our medium-term plan.

Several important studies and documents were made and adopted in the field of theoretical-normative regulation of the concept and doctrine of the all-people's defense. Significant results were achieved in training all structures of the defense-protection system. By carrying out numerous joint exercises, all elements of the defense and protection system were simultaneously trained together with the armed forces, and thus an even greater level of unity of all parts of the system for all kinds of threats to the country's security was insured. The focal point in the preparations for the all-people's defensive war, in view of the fact that the armed struggle is the basic form of resistance to armed aggression, was the further building of the armed forces, their getting ready to carry out war tasks, and their equipment with modern combat means.

In view of the combat characteristics of the forces we could expect in our area in the event of an aggression and of the doctrine of their use, the weight in the modernization of all three services of the YPA and territorial defense was placed on increased firing capabilities, especially the accuracy and the range of the weapons, on increased combat and maneuver capability, on resistance to electronic effects and on perfecting the system of command from the organizational-functional and material-technical point of view.

Particular progress was made in the organizational improvement of the land forces and in the training of their units as well as in increasing their overall firing power and maneuver capability. The offensive capability of our air force was stepped up with the introduction of more modern and efficient aircraft. The air defense system was improved qualitatively, especially the protection of the main elements of our armed forces and vital installations on our territory. The building and the training of our Navy for even more efficient defense was continued. The construction and introduction of more modern vessels and coastal defense weaponry have considerably increased the combat capability of this service.

Territorial defense has been developed and has attained a relatively high level of organization, particularly at the grassroots level. At this level, it represents an important element of self-protection of our society which is the main purpose of these forces.

The conditions in which the all people's defense and social self-protection concept and system develop will determine the further buildup of our armed forces. The general orientation in this respect will be on the harmonious development of both components (the YPA and the territorial defense) parallel

with a considerable increase in their combat capabilities, on an improved organizational structure--which will have to be upgraded more quickly to the level of combat tasks--better training and level of technical equipment.

Our concept and the doctrine of conducting an all-people's defense war imposes on us the need to equip our armed forces with modern combat equipment suitable for use in a lengthy, exhausting war; also required is that we should not lag essentially in the most important combat systems. This refers primarily to the YPA. From the beginning of such a war it will resist, both independently and in cooperation with other forces, frontal actions by armies equipped with the most modern armaments. This implies the YPA being equipped with the appropriate sophisticated military technology systems.

Parallel with the necessary development of heavy equipment, the need has been emphasized particularly for extensive reequipping of territorial defense units with resources for close anti-armor combat and for low- and medium-altitude air defense operations. This process began last year.

A dynamic development of our research and development capacities, the armaments industry, and of our economy as a whole has significantly increased the possibility of equipping our armed forces with modern items of new generations of armaments and military equipment of domestic manufacture. This has a multiple significance for our independence and our nonaligned policy.

Favorable conditions have been secured for the research, development and manufacture of the most important and complex armament resources and military equipment for mass use, with the result that we today manufacture: complete infantry weapons and equipment; support weapons and air defense weapons (both guns and missiles) with the appropriate ammunition; anti-armor equipment and ammunition; mines and explosive devices; electronic and communications resources; combat and noncombat vehicles; aircraft and vessels of virtually all kinds; laser and optical electronic equipment; complex, modern artillery and missile guidance systems; and so forth. We import only complex armaments which it is not economical to manufacture in our country and those which we have not so far managed to develop or master their production.

The necessary conditions have been created for the further development of complex systems and armaments and military equipment. The cadre foundation has been built, and there exist the basic material conditions for more modern and quicker scientific research and development work in the military technical institutions of the YPA. Extensive cooperation has also been realized with other scientific research institutions in the country in the field of developing important components of armaments and military equipment, new materials, technological procedures and others.

This year, work has been in progress on 986 research and development projects, for which considerable financial resources (about 4 percent of the YPA budget) have been allocated, and in which--in addition to YPA scientific institutions and organizations of associated labor working to specific targets--over 140 of our country's scientific and development organizations have been involved.

The armament and military equipment industry is in the process of being reconstructed and modernized. Despite this the industry fulfilled its 1982 production plans at the level of 97 percent (the highest implementation level during the past 12 years), while the physical volume of production was 6.5 percent up on 1981. Implementation of the planned targets during the past 9 months of this year is 6 percent up from the same period last year. Despite raw material and reproduction material supply difficulties, it is expected that the production plan will be fully implemented.

Military-economic relations and scientific-technical cooperation with foreign countries are developing in keeping with the principles of our foreign policy and plan an extremely important part in consolidating our country's role in the world. Economic cooperation is particularly intensive with nonaligned and developing countries, the content and forms of cooperation being increasingly varied.

This year we have attained very noted results in combat training and education, along with the development and modernization of the YPA and the armed forces in general. Our basic activities in this area were channeled into: improvements in combat training, and the education and military schooling systems; training of officers and of peacetime and especially wartime commands and headquarters; reserve unit training, mainly of service units and of units earmarked for social self-protection tasks; completion of the plans and programs on new military technology and organization of units; elaboration of measures on the further socialization of the mass training of the population; and joint training of all defense structures (especially in the Jedinstvo-83 combined territorial exercises and combined territorial exercises held on a smaller scale in all other SFRY areas).

Extensive measures were also undertaken in advancing and modernizing the material basis of training, whose significance lies in creating the conditions for training on new equipment and in accelerating the process of training, which could mean a further reduction of the military service term when circumstances permit. Important measures are also being taken to rationalize the training of peacetime and wartime units, which would reduce the budget expenditure which finds it more and more difficult to cover training, especially that of the numerous wartime units.

We are constantly adjusting the military school system with the needs of the armed forces development and the development of the system of upbringing and education in society. Our measures in this field conform to the requirements of modern warfare and the need to provide highly professional, ideologically guided, and morally firm officer cadres for all the structures of the armed forces. The new military technology demands considerable investment for the further development of modern teaching aids and the material base in the schools, and in addition it demands peak abilities of the teaching cadres at all levels of schooling.

Very good results have been achieved in the training of the first generation of women in the YPA, and this confirms the correctness of the idea of training them and including them, at present, as soldiers and reserve officers in the



armed forces on a voluntary basis. It would be too early to speak about further involvement--and especially a compulsory one--of women in the YPA both in peace and in war, especially as active officers. The experiences gained are being studied, and new ones will be gained in the coming year, and an overall view of the involvement of women in the armed forces in peace and in war will be attained within the planned time.

We have proposed to the SFRY Assembly that future students should serve their military service in one uninterrupted period, which will serve to make training more efficient, make the procedure of allocation to wartime units simpler, and achieve financial savings.

The YPA personnel support and carry out all the measures and actions taken in our society aimed at overcoming difficulties and strengthening stability. It is deeply conscious of the fact that the battle for economic stabilization is entering a decisive stage and that it can be won only by maximum efforts of all subjective forces. This also means the YPA, as an integral part of our society. The army confirms its readiness to carry out its tasks with a rational use of material resources and with personal self-denial, and to contribute to the implementation of the long-term program of economic stabilization. All our officers, commands and headquarters, communists and young soldiers attach all their attention and importance to the stabilization program.

In keeping with a tradition extending over a period of many years, YPA members were acting this year in many social and economic actions in our country. In aiding their exercise and war infrastructure preparations they took part in rebuilding roads and bridges, building water supplies harvesting, afforestation work, eliminating the consequences of earthquakes, extinguishing fires, rescue work in major traffic accidents, and so forth. In the course of the year, rational use was made of material and financial resources, without impairing the combat readiness of our armed forces.

The annual directly measurable savings that have been made by the YPA amount to 5 billion dinars or 3 percent of the total YPA budget resources for the year, which is also expected to be met in 1984. These resources were used to finance the routine activity and priority tasks of YPA development and modernization not funded originally. However, despite the total rational use of the material and financial resources and rigorous economies, it is impossible to compensate for the fact that financial resources amounting to 5.2 percent of our national income were not secured. According to present estimates concerning the financing of the YPA in 1983 only 4.7 percent of our national income was insured. It is well known that in 1982 the percentage involved was even lower, amounting to 4.54 percent.

The dinar and foreign currency resources that have been secured, the rapid decline in the dinar's exchange rate and the big increase in prices and the cost of living have inevitably caused the YPA modernization and development to slow down and the living standard of members of the Armed Forces to fall substantially, Mamula said.

From what I have said so far it can be seen that this year once again we gave priority to securing the resources for the targets that directly influence an increase in the combat capability of the units and in the institutions such as: purchase of armaments and other military equipment, research and development work in the sphere of arming and of military technology, modernization of training and military education, securing and improving of cadres, modernization of the capacities for production purposes, and the overhaul of arms and military equipment.

The results we have obtained would no doubt have been greater but for the high rise in prices in all areas of expenditure, and especially of reproduction material, energy and food, both on the domestic and on the foreign market, and for the rapid decline in the exchange rate of the dinar, all of which has substantially reduced the YPA's real purchasing power.

In addition, there have been serious problems in the timely influx of resources and in our ability to pay the debts that have matured. All this means that a substantial part of the program of the organizational improvement of the units, their equipping with arms and military equipment, establishment of wartime material reserves, construction of infrastructure objects and accommodation will be carried forward into 1984 and the years to come.

The Federal Secretariat for National Defense has adopted the plan for the implementation of the long-term program of economic stabilization, in which the results to date in all basic activities are analyzed, previously established measures and activities (short-term and long-term) are updated and amended, and uniform criteria for measuring the results of their implementation are expanded. Similar plans have also been formulated by the YPA units and institutions, and the broadest measures and activities are being pursued in the area of stabilization and the increase of military readiness.

The Federal Secretariat for National Defense, in keeping with the requirements of the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization, has carried out changes in the YPA's medium-term development plan until 1985, by which the annual development plans and programs of the units and institutions have been adapted to the existing circumstances and to the realistic economic possibilities for their realization. In keeping with this the volume of tasks for 1984 has been established and an estimate of the necessary financial resources has been prepared, which amounts to 5.2 percent of the expected national income, in other words, 231.6 billion dinars. This does not allow for the realization of the tasks of the reduced medium-term modernization program, so that an important part of this is carried over from year to year, so that a part of the program laid down in the amended medium-term plan cannot be realized in this plan period and will have to be carried over to the next.

Priority will be given to technical modernization in 1984, with the aim of continuing the introduction of modern weaponry and military equipment in keeping with the technical and technological achievements and economic possibilities of the country.

Work will be intensified on a number of development programs of domestic manufacture of some large and complex items of armaments and military equipment, above all those for anti-armor combat and air defense. Deliveries of tanks of domestic manufacture are beginning and the introduction and deliveries of modern anti-armor weapons are continuing, which insures higher quality in anti-armor combat conducted both from land and from the air.

Deliveries of air defense weapons, chiefly of domestic manufacture, will be continued and the capacities of troop air defense will be increased. The introduction of modern and high-quality fire support weapons will increase the total fire power by about 15 percent in comparison with 1983.

The equipping of the air force and air defense with aircraft of domestic manufacture, missiles for anti-armor combat and other airborne strike weapons [vazduhoplovna ubojna sredstva] continues, and this increases the combat abilities of all kinds of aviation and helicopters.

The introduction of small submarines for diversionary activities [diverzantske podmornice], border patrol boats, and assault landing boats to the navy continues to improve the mobility of marine units, the protection of maritime borders, and the control of coastal seas and navigable rivers. The command and information systems in this branch of the armed forces is also being modernized.

The deliveries of highly mobile cross-country automobiles of domestic manufacture continue, and so do the additional deliveries to the units with special vehicles for communications, command, technical services, water supply, and medical services.

The purchases and provisions of repair equipment, electricity generators, fuel and other things continue, and this directly creates more favorable conditions and possibilities for maintaining and repairing equipment in the field, improves the conditions for command work, and increases the transport and distribution of liquid fuel and lubricants facilities.

In addition to the tasks of organizational and technical modernization in 1984, the realization of other central tasks of the YPA will also be guaranteed, such as:

- the expansion of systematic cadre decision to increase the quality of cadres and productivity of work;

- the realization of innovative aspects of training and military schooling in keeping with the organizational and technical modernization of the armed forces and the development of military science and skills;

- the effective functioning of the support for the units and institutions of the YPA, with the tendency for this to rely even more on the existing production and service capacities;

- the creation of new forms and quantities, and the refurbishing of existing military reserves;

--the construction and modernization of the most essential military facilities intended for basic accommodation, and maintenance and repair of the equipment and facilities required for military activity.

In addition to this, these funds will also satisfy the most urgent essential needs for the daily life and work of the units and institutions, as well as the living standards of the members of the YPS. In this respect, efforts will be made to maintain the level already achieved in the feeding, clothing and accommodation of soldiers and cadets, while the personal incomes of the YPA active personnel will, as before, be aligned with the trends of personal incomes in society.

Proceeding from the present projections and assumptions on price trends and other economic conditions in 1984, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense believes that, with maximum implementation of economic measures and with frugal and rational expenditure of resources, the proposed funds will guarantee the realization of the central tasks in 1984, which will facilitate continuity in the modernization and military capability of the YPA. We are aware of the dangers caused by the deteriorated military political and overall international relations. Under certain conditions, they may transform themselves into direct pressure on us and may endanger the security of our country. All the factors in the all-people's defense and social self-protection, all the responsible social factors, and this chamber, bear responsibility for realistically assessing these dangers and bear the obligation not to await them unprepared. The need therefore arises of making even greater efforts for the preparations and training of all-people's defense overall, so that a further growth of the defense abilities of our society under these complex conditions of the time in which we live will be insured.

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MIKULIC APPEALS FOR OLYMPIC TRUCE, DISCUSSES SECURITY PLANS

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 83 p 3

[Report on a press conference by the Yugoslav Olympic Committee: "Olympic Appeal for Peace"]

[Text] The chairman of the Olympic Committee for the 14th Winter Olympic Games, Branko Mikulic, with his colleagues, received a group of about 100 American journalists visiting Sarajevo as guests of the ABC television company, and in a press conference he acquainted them with the situation at the facilities and the work performed for the games themselves and for the reception of the guests. In the second part of his statement, Branko Mikulic said:

"I want to say that peace in the world is a necessary and essential condition for days of complete enjoyment and the triumph of sport and culture during the Winter Olympic Games in Sarajevo and the Summer Olympics in Los Angeles. It is well known that in ancient times weapons were set aside during the olympics, enmities were halted, and the hand of reconciliation was offered. Less than 3 months remain until the games in Sarajevo, only 80 days from tomorrow, and about 10 months until the games in Los Angeles. The countdown of the days has begun.

"We are therefore appealing for a halt to all military conflicts and enmities, all pressures from a position of strength, military interventions, and interference in the internal affairs of other peoples; we urge that instead of the deployment of missile systems and weapons in general, material resources be directed toward more rapid development of the undeveloped countries, toward a further development of sports and culture, and toward a better life and happiness for man, not toward his destruction. The greatest responsibility in this lies with the great powers."

We Are Irreconcilable Opponents of Violence

"The Winter Olympics are taking place in a country that suffered enormous human and material losses in World War II. Yugoslavia had 1,700,000 human casualties in the war; in Bosnia-Herzegovina alone, 700,000 people suffered, which was a third of the population at that time.

"People who are fortunate enough not to have seen and experienced these terrors cannot even understand all this. We who lived through it became irreconcilable opponents of war and of every form of violence against man.

"A certain number of those who committed these crimes emigrated abroad at the end of the war and are now treated as Croats, Serbs, or Moslems in exile. Unfortunately, their activity against Yugoslavia is being tolerated, and a favorable attitude is being shown toward their organized gathering in the so-called Croatian National Council and the Democratic Alternative. It appears that in some countries in the West there is an illusion that the platforms of these organizations could become alternative options to the existing order in Yugoslavia. In view of the fact that these are Ustasa and Cetnik emigres, discredited because of the crimes they committed and their betrayal of the people, they do not represent anything in Yugoslavia, nor can they; and we warn those who support them to think about the future of their families as well, because the urge to commit new crimes in the countries where they are now living may easily be aroused in those whose arms are bloody up to the elbows.

"You are aware that socialist, self-managing and nonaligned Yugoslavia is a multinational and federated community. People of different nationalities--Serbs, Moslems, Croats, Jews, and the members of other peoples and nationalities--likewise live together and work in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the city of Sarajevo in full accord, fraternity, and equality. The occasional nationalist statements by individuals meet with a sharp reaction from the citizens, members of all nations. And this is understandable, because the mass sufferings of the population, about which I have spoken, always warn us not to permit anyone to lead us into a fratricidal conflict again.

#### Friendship and Equality Are Among the Goals of Sports

"I would like to end with an answer to the question about a possible boycott of future games. Although there is no reason for anyone to boycott the games in Sarajevo, I want to emphasize that we are opposed in particular to subordinating the olympics to the needs of the everyday policy of the governments of individual countries, and we are opposed to all forms of boycotting sport events. It has already been shown that this only brings negative results. The olympics, like other sport and true cultural events, should be spared such pressures, because sports and culture are and should be aimed at friendship, accord, and the equality of all athletes and peoples of the world, and thus at peace and happiness for all people on the globe.

"Yugoslavia therefore proposed, at the seventh summit meeting of the nonaligned countries in New Delhi, that a position on this be included in the resolution adopted there. We think that it would also be good for the United Nations to adopt a corresponding resolution on this.

"In view of all this, our organizing committee and the one in Los Angeles want to issue a medal for friendship among the athletes of our countries and all countries of the world," Branko Mikulic concluded his opening statement, to continue the meeting with the journalists by answering their questions.

## The Games Are Aimed at Development

The first question was about the future of the olympic facilities and of the entire region. Branko Mikulic responded as follows:

"When we became candidates for the games, we did not see them as only a great sports event, but also as our great chance for the future development of winter tourism, primarily for the development of the tourist industry. In order for us to use the facilities for the good of humanity and to develop tourist facilities, we have already formed a corresponding organization that will be engaged in maintaining and operating the facilities, and which will handle the complete tourist facilities.

"After the olympics, we have great ambitions for organizing in the fields Yugoslav, European, and world competitions, opening the fields for mass sports and recreation activities by people, primarily the youth of Yugoslavia, and offering them to all the peoples of the world for their use."

The question about the seating capacity, the organization of transportation, and other so-called technical issues were answered by Nedo Mahic, the director of ZOITURS and Ugljesa Uzelac, the president of the city council. They emphasized that great efforts have been made to have everything function as well as possible and to satisfy the competitors, guests, and spectators of the olympics. In these efforts, the Olympic Committee has enjoyed and is enjoying the wholehearted support of the citizens of Sarajevo, the surrounding area, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Yugoslavia.

## Security Guaranteed to Participants and Visitors

Later in the conference, the following question was raised:

"In view of the terrorist act that occurred in Munich in 1972, can you say what your plans are in connection with security, in what respect and in what manner you will organize security; whether it will be the army, police, and so forth?"

"We have already undertaken an extensive program of security measures for the games in Sarajevo," Branko Mikulic answered. "This program of measures is divided into three integral parts. One part has to do with what we are doing in Sarajevo itself; the second part has to do with the measures we are undertaking in the whole country; and the third part has to do with our cooperation with other countries.

"The measures that we have undertaken thus far give me the right to say that we guarantee all those coming to the games in Sarajevo full security, and that they can move around as they wish. Thus, we are ruling out the possibility of terrorist acts during the games in Sarajevo.

"We do not intend to involve the army in security at the games; instead, we will mobilize our system of social self-protection, in which all people are involved in the places where they live, and in the factories and other

institutions in which they work. Accordingly, almost the entire population of Sarajevo and of the broader area around Sarajevo will be involved in security at the games, through an appropriate system of organization and good leadership.

"The internal security forces will perform an expert and executive function in security at the games. Thus, let me repeat that we think that there is no need to involve the army.

"We are aware of the danger of terrorist acts, among other things because of the activities of our fascist emigres, which I have pointed out to you here. We have received reports that they would like to do something against us. They will not succeed in this, however. Cooperation with other countries makes it possible for us to receive timely information on possible attempts by other terrorist organizations in connection with the games in Sarajevo. We have received assurances from contacts with the corresponding state agencies in other countries that they are disposed to cooperate with us."

During the conference, several other questions were brought up about the technical details and the financing of the games. In the answers to them, it was stressed that the present estimates of the expenses are less than originally planned, and that it is realistic to expect that there will be no debts of any kind after the olympics are held in Sarajevo.

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